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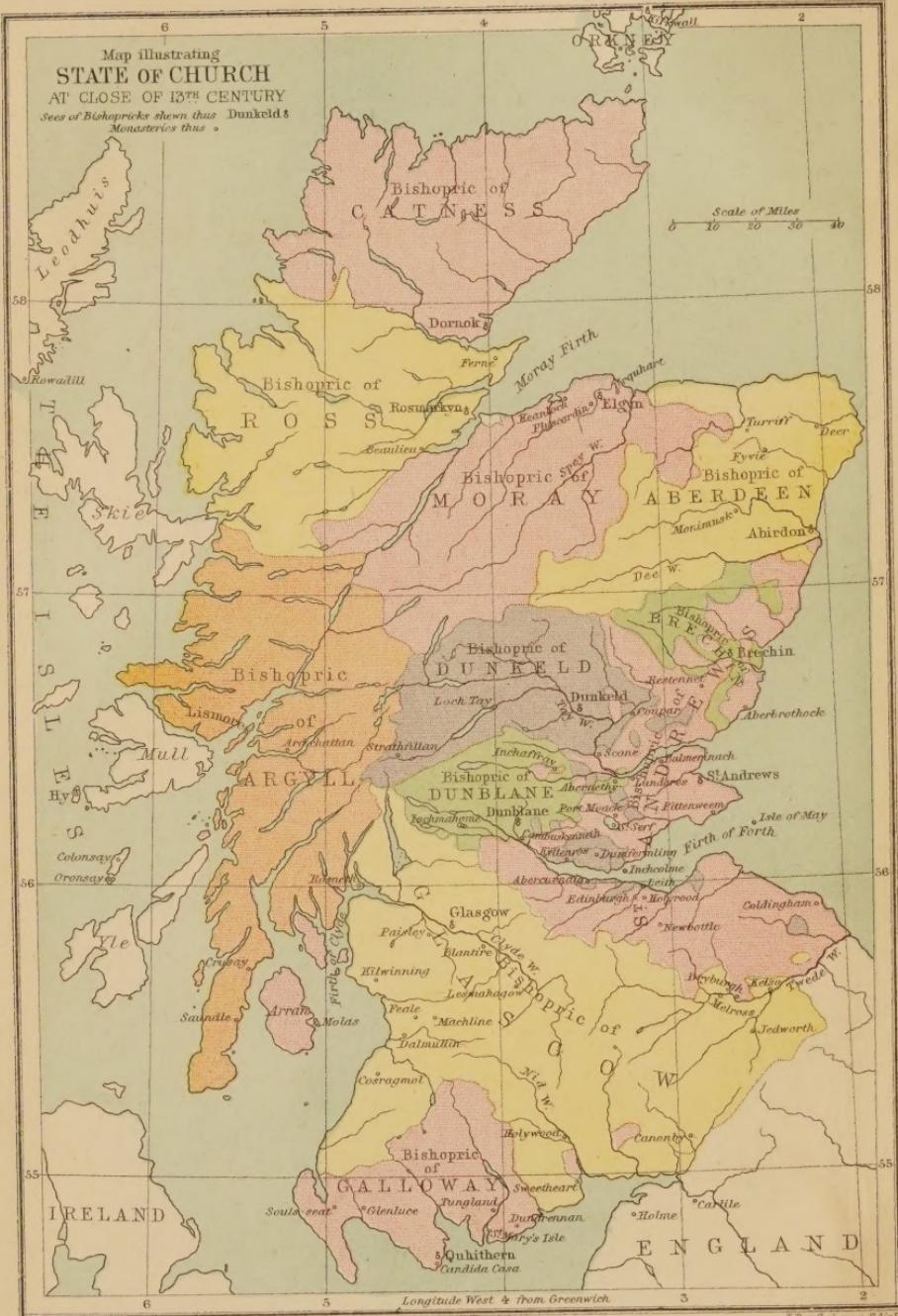
CATHOLIC CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

Map illustrating
STATE OF CHURCH
AT CLOSE OF 13TH CENTURY
Sees of Bishoprics shewn thus Dunkeld &
Monasteries thus •

Map illustrating

STATE OF CHURCH
AT CLOSE OF 13TH CENTURY

enriched shown thus



H I S T O R Y
OF THE
Catholic Church of Scotland

FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY
TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY
ALPHONS BELLESHEIM, D.D.
CANON OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS,
BY
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MONK OF FORT AUGUSTUS

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. II.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER III. TO THE SUPPRESSION
OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION, A.D. 1286-1530

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCLXXXVII

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY (1287-1400).

	PAGE
Disputed succession to the throne—Pretensions of Robert Bruce— Appeal to Edward I.—Treaty of Brigham (1290)—Death of the Maid of Norway (Sept. 1290)—Coronation of John Baliol (1292); his deposition (1296)—Pope Boniface VIII. and Scot- land; his letter to Edward I.—Bruce crowned at Scone (1306) —Victory of Bannockburn (1314)—Papal legates to Scotland— Bruce under the ban of the Church; his absolution (1328)— Treaty of Northampton—Death of Bruce (1329)—State of the kingdom—Scottish Church councils at Dundee (1310), Perth (1321), and Scone (1324) — Bishop Fraser of St Andrews (1279-1297)—Proceedings against the Knights-Templars (1309) —Foundation of the Scotch College at Paris—Accession of David II. (1329-1370); his flight to France—Battle of Durham (1346)—Divorce of Queen Margaret—Councils at Aberdeen and Perth—Foundation of first Collegiate Church (1342)— Annexation of Man to England (1342)—Reigns of Robert II. (1371-1390) and Robert III. (1390-1404)—Ecclesiastical ques- tions in Parliament—Synodal statutes of St Andrews—Dis- tinguished Scottish prelates — Burning of Elgin Cathedral (1390)—Murder of William, Bishop of Orkney (1383),	1

CHAPTER II.

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, UP TO THE ERECTION OF ST ANDREWS INTO A METROPOLITAN SEE (1400-1472).

Scotland on the side of the anti-Popes—King James I. (1424-1436); his education in England—General Council of the realm—Zeal of the king for religion—His murder (February 1436-1437)—Wyclifism in Scotland; execution of Resby (1407) and Crawar (1433) for heresy—St Andrews University founded (1410); confirmed by Benedict XIII. (1414)—Pope Martin V. acknowledged by the Scotch Parliament (1418)—Rights of bishops as to testaments—Bishop Cameron of Glasgow—Papal legates to Scotland—Mission of *Æneas Piccolomini* (1435)—Division of the diocese of the Isles; Iona an episcopal seat—King James II. (1437-1460)—Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews—Marriage (1449) and death (1460) of James II.—King James III. (1460-1488)—Rupture with England and revolt of the heir-apparent—Efforts of the Holy See in the cause of peace—Battle of Sauchie and death of James III. (1488)—Scotland and the Council of Basle (1433)—Abbot Thomas of Dundrennan and the anti-Pope—Adherence of Scotland to Eugenius IV.—Claims made by the Crown to episcopal property—Settlement of the question in Parliament (1450)—Foundation of Glasgow University (1451)—Bishop Graham of St Andrews; his see erected into an archbishopric (1472)—Opposition of York, Drontheim, and the Scottish king and bishops to the new metropolitan—Deposition and death of Archbishop Graham (1478)—Character of Bishop Kennedy—Religious foundations of this period,

44

CHAPTER III.

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH UNDER JAMES IV. AND JAMES V.
(1488-1524).

Accession and marriage of James IV.—War with England—Death of King James at Flodden (1513)—Regency of Albany (1513-1528)—Disloyalty of the Scottish nobles—Distracted state of the country—Bestowal of the primatial dignity upon St Andrews (1487)—Erection of the archbishopric of Glasgow (1492)—Fresh

prosecution of Lollards (1494); their tenets—Archbishops of St Andrews: the Duke of Ross (1497-1503); Alexander Stuart (1509-1513)—Foundation of St Leonard's College (1512)—Rival candidates for the primacy—Election of Andrew Foreman—Diocesan statutes of St Andrews—Bishop Gavin Douglas of Dunkeld—Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen (1482-1514); founds Aberdeen University (1497); his public and private virtues—Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow—James IV. and the Franciscans,	99
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP FOREMAN TO THE MURDER OF CARDINAL BEATON (1521-1546).

Translation of Archbishop Beaton to St Andrews—Lutheranism in Scotland—Trial and execution of Patrick Hamilton (1528)—Institution of the College of Justice (1534)—Alliance of Scotland with France—Marriage of James V. (1537)—Intrigues of Henry VIII.—Burning of heretics (1533-1539)—Scotch Protestants abroad; Aless, Machabæus, and Buchanan—Reformers within the Church; Mair, Winram, Logie, Richardson—Seaton the Dominican—David Beaton: his education; envoy to France; Lord Privy Seal; Bishop of Mirepoix; Cardinal (1538) and Archbishop of St Andrews; Henry VIII.'s jealousy of him—War with England (1542)—Rout of Solway Moss and death of James V. (1542)—Cardinal Beaton and the heretics—Trial of Borthwick (1540)—James V. and the clergy—Imprisonment of the Cardinal—Patriotism of the Scottish clergy—Marco Grimani, nuncio to Scotland (1543)—Beaton appointed legate (1544); conspiracy against him sanctioned by Henry VIII.—Provincial Council at St Andrews (1546)—Scotland and the Council of Trent—Riot in Glasgow Cathedral—Wishart “the Martyr”: his early life; connection with the traitorous party; his share in the plot against the Cardinal; his trial and execution for heresy (1546)—Assassination of Cardinal Beaton—His character—Letter from the Regent to the Pope—Abbot Hamilton of Paisley—System of nomination to bishoprics—Bishop Gavin Dunbar of Aberdeen—Erection of collegiate churches and hospitals,	133
--	-----

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DEATH OF CARDINAL BEATON TO THE SUPPRESSION
OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION (1546-1560).

State of Scotland after Cardinal Beaton's death—The rebels in St Andrews Castle—John Knox : his parentage ; he unites himself to the murderers of Beaton ; his call to the ministry ; carried prisoner to France—The Scottish clergy at Pinkie (1547)—Departure of the infant queen for France (1548)—Mary of Guise becomes Regent (1554)—Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews—Bishop Reid of Orkney (1541-1558)—Provincial Council at Edinburgh (1549)—Statutes enacted—Council of 1552 ; fresh enactments—Catechism ordered to be printed ; its publication, and probable authorship—The *Twopenny Faith*—The progress of Protestantism—Execution of Adam Wallace—Release of Knox from the galleys (1549)—His ministry at Geneva and Frankfort ; his return to Scotland (1555)—Ecclesiastical proceedings against Knox ; his appeal to a General Council ; he returns to Geneva (1556) ; is condemned by the Church Courts—The Protestant preachers—Knox refuses to come back to Scotland ; Establishment of the “Congregation” (1557)—Revolutionary acts of the Protestants—Their toleration by the Regent—Execution of Walter Mylne for heresy (1558)—Proposed compromise — State of affairs in 1559 — Disorders among the clergy—Provincial Council at Edinburgh (March 1559)—“Articles of Reformation”—Statutes of the Council—Difficulties in the way of reform—Abbot Quintin Kennedy : his writings ; the “Compendious Tracte” ; his challenge to Willock—Return of Knox to Scotland (1559)—Meeting of the Congregation at Perth—Knox’s sermon—Commencement of the work of destruction—Action taken by the Regent—Important accessions to the Protestants—The “rascal multitude” at St Andrews, Lindores, Balmerino, and Scone—The Congregation at Edinburgh (June 1559)—Robbery of the Treasury and the Mint—Royal proclamation against the rebels—Their retreat—Knox and Queen Elizabeth—The Protestants and the English Government—The Treaty of Berwick (February 1560)—Progress of “reform”—English invasion of Scotland—Death of the queen-regent (June 1560)—Treaty of Edinburgh—Triumph of the Congregation—Increase of Protestants—Assembly of the

- Estates (August 1560)—The Confession of Faith ; its sanction ; action of the Episcopate respecting it—Abolition of the ancient Church—Penal laws against Catholics—Parliament and the property of the Church, 187

CHAPTER VI.

MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH AT THE TIME
OF ITS SUPPRESSION.

- Wealth possessed by the Church—The nobility and the Reformation—Division of the ecclesiastical plunder—Contrast between the nobles and the clergy ; patriotism of the latter—Gross injustice inflicted on the religious orders—The monks as landlords—Greatness of the change wrought by the Reformation—Causes of its success—Abuses prevailing in the Church—Want of learning among clergy and people—Difficulty in uprooting the Catholic religion—End of the medieval period of Scottish Church history, 311

CHAPTER VII.

EDUCATION AND ART IN SCOTLAND BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

- Medieval and monastic schools—Work done by them—Registers kept in monasteries — The national universities—Scotchmen educated abroad—Distinguished Scottish scholars : Marianus, David Scotus, Richard of St Victor, Godrich, Benham, Taylor, Scott, Duns Scotus, Dempster, Bassoll, Blair—Scottish historians : Fordun, Bower, Boece—Scottish scholars on the Continent: Fraser, Hepburn, Tayre — Scottish poets : Gavin Douglas, Dunbar, Lindsay—Compulsory education—Influence of the Church—Early Scottish religious art—Celtic churches and monasteries in Ireland — Remains in Scotland—Round towers : Brechin, Abernethy ; their probable date—Celtic manuscripts : the Book of Deer, and of Durrow ; Gospels of Lindisfarne ; peculiarities of Celtic MSS.—Other relics : bells and crosiers ; crosier of St Fillan ; privileges attached to it—Veneration paid to relics—Battle-ensigns ; the *Brecbennoch*—Sculptured monuments ; divided into three groups ; their ornamentation—Symbolism of the monuments ; its threefold character ;

the <i>bestiaries</i> —Inscribed monuments—Ogham inscriptions—Runic monuments—The Ruthwell cross—Medieval architecture of Scotland—Norman period (1057-1153), Kirkwall and Kelso—Transition and Early English (1153-1285), Glasgow, Elgin, &c.—Later Gothic style; French and Spanish influence; Melrose and Roslin—The Celtic Liturgy; its peculiarities; its harmony with other Western liturgies—Alleged “orientalism” of the Celtic Church—Medieval Scottish Liturgy—Variations in the Uses of Sarum, York, &c.—The Arbuthnott Missal—The Aberdeen Breviary—Kalendars of the Scottish Saints—Conclusion,	326
--	-----

APPENDIX.

I. Instructions to Latino Juvenale, Papal Nuncio to Scotland, 1538,	413
II. List of Collegiate Churches and Hospitals,	414
III. Erection of the Chapter of Kirkwall, 1544,	419
IV. Specimen of the Catechism of Archbishop Hamilton,	420
V. Articles of the Faith, as laid down in the Provincial Council of 1559,	421
VI. Form of Visitation of the Sick, from the Book of Deer,	423
VII. Succession of Scottish Bishops down to the Suppression of the Ancient Hierarchy,	424

HISTORY
OF THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

(1287-1400.)

PRINCESS MARGARET, the granddaughter and successor of Alexander III., was in Norway at the time of the king's death. Her right to the crown had already been formally recognised by a Parliament held at Scone in 1284, and it was now requisite to appoint a regency to act in her name. The Parliament accordingly assembled on April 11, 1286, and proceeded to nominate six guardians of the realm.¹ The administration of ^{The Re-}gentry.

¹ It is upon this occasion that Fordun first applies the word *parliament* to the assembly of the Estates. There is no evidence, however, that it was attended by any representatives of the burghs. The first appearance of the third estate, of which we have undoubted record, was in the Parliament summoned by Bruce in 1326 : although

the northern part of the kingdom was committed to Bishop Fraser of St Andrews, Duncan, Earl of Fife, and Alexander, Earl of Buchan ; while Bishop Wishart of Glasgow, Lord Comyn of Badenoch, and James, High Steward of Scotland, were intrusted with the government of the southern division. The rival parties of Robert Bruce and John Baliol were already preparing to assert their claims, in case of the throne again becoming vacant ; and the peace of the kingdom was threatened by a still more dangerous enemy, Edward I. of England, the old foe of Scottish independence. Edward was in France when he received the news of the precarious condition of affairs in Scotland. In order to carry out his long-cherished hopes of uniting that kingdom with his own, he commenced negotiations for the marriage of his son Edward with the heiress of the Scottish crown. He was in no hurry, however, to carry out his project at once. King Eric of Norway, the father of the young queen, was himself only eighteen years of age, and naturally looked to Edward, the uncle of his deceased wife, for counsel and protection. He had little confidence in the turbulent Scottish nobles, and resolved to keep his infant daughter for the present under his own care in Norway.

it is most probable that the burgesses were actually first admitted to the great council of the realm in 1292, in the third Parliament of Baliol—the same which, by declaring war against Edward I., began the long struggle for Scottish independence.—TRANSLATOR.

A powerful party had meanwhile formed among the Scottish barons against Margaret's claim to the throne. At its head was Robert Bruce, who based his right to the crown on his descent, through Isabella, from David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion. The English and Scottish nobles who espoused his cause entered into a league or covenant, by which they bound themselves to support and adhere to one another against all opposing parties, saving always their allegiance to the King of England and the eventual successor to the Scottish crown. The power of the barons roused the jealousy of the regents of the kingdom, and the peace and unity of the realm was dangerously disturbed. In order to restore tranquillity, a measure of more than doubtful expediency was resolved upon—namely, to demand advice and assistance of King Edward, the hereditary enemy of Scotland. The Bishop of Brechin, the Abbot of Jedburgh, and Geoffrey de Mowbray were accordingly sent as ambassadors to the English Court, to lay the state of affairs before the king. At the same time plenipotentiaries arrived from Norway, to treat with Edward respecting the return of the young princess. A fresh embassy was despatched from Scotland, with extended powers:¹ Edward

Appeal to
Edward I.

¹ Robert Bruce was included in this embassy, a fact which seems to show that he desired to lead Edward to believe that he had abandoned his ambitious views relative to the Scottish crown.—TRANSLATOR.

himself appointed four commissioners to act on the part of England, and the representatives of the three countries met at Salisbury. The result of the conference was a treaty of four articles, giving to Edward large powers of interference in the internal affairs of Scotland. No direct allusion to the projected marriage of the young queen was contained in the treaty, which, however, included several provisions which were doubtless intended to bear upon it, and to prepare the people of Scotland to receive it favourably.¹ Edward had already secretly procured a dispensation from the Pope, the prince and princess being within the forbidden degrees.

As soon as the provisions of the Treaty of Salisbury were published, the Estates of Scotland assembled at Brigham, near Roxburgh, whence they despatched a letter to the King of England, expressing their joy at the proposed union, and assuring him of their full concurrence. A letter was sent at the same time to King Eric of Norway, requesting him to fulfil the terms of the treaty by sending over the young queen before the Feast of All Saints. By way of ensuring the compliance of Norway, Edward sent to the Court of Eric, Beck, Bishop of Durham, who distributed considerable sums among the Norwegian officials,

¹ One of these provisions was that Margaret should not marry without the counsel and consent of the King of England. See Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pp. 446, 447.—TRANSLATOR.

and finally obtained their promise that Margaret should at once be sent to England. Immediately on the bishop's return, Edward appointed him, with five other commissioners, to attend a meeting of the Scottish Estates, held at Brigham in July 1290. It is not necessary to dwell upon the details of the important treaty concluded at Brigham. Suffice it to say that its whole tenor recognises the complete independence of the Scottish crown and kingdom, and nowhere hints at a union of the two countries under one sovereign. The independence of the National Church is likewise guaranteed, and all her ancient privileges, including the free election by cathedral chapters, confirmed and secured; while no bishop is to be required to leave the kingdom to do fealty to any foreign sovereign. The substance of this treaty forms, in truth, a grave charge against King Edward, and the guilt and misery of the struggle which so shortly followed its ratification must be laid at his door. How much respect he had for the provisions of the treaty he showed soon afterwards, when he thought fit to propose to the Estates of Scotland that, considering the rumours of certain dangers which menaced that kingdom, all the castles and fortified places in the realm should be handed over to him. This demand, however, was peremptorily refused by the Scots. A still greater blow was in store for Edward. The news reached England in Septem- Treaty of
Brigham.

ber 1290, that the young queen had sailed from Norway; but the hopes of the two kingdoms were destined to be cruelly frustrated. The princess was seized with illness on the voyage: the fleet anchored at Orkney, and here, in September 1290, died the "Fair Maid of Norway," in the eighth year of her age. She was buried in the noble cathedral of St Magnus, at Kirkwall.¹ Sorrow and dismay fell upon the kingdom; for the royal house, even in the female line, was now extinct, and the country lay at the mercy of the powerful rival parties headed by John Baliol and Robert Bruce.

Both the claimants to the crown were descended from David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to King William the Lion. Bruce, however, was the nearer of the two, being the son of Isabella, David's second daughter, while Baliol was the grandson of his eldest daughter Margaret. Baliol claimed precedence over Bruce, as being descended from the eldest daughter of David, although a generation more removed than was his rival. King Edward of England was appointed umpire to decide the question. He settled it in favour of Baliol, who was crowned at Scone on St Andrew's Day, 1292.

Baliol's reign was of short duration. The servility of his demeanour towards Edward did not serve to raise him in the estimation of his sub-

Death of
the "Maid
of Nor-
way."

Rival
claimants.

Coronation
of Baliol.

¹ Walcott, *Ancient Church of Scotland*, p. 173.

jects, and appeals were openly made from his authority to that of the English sovereign. It thus came about that Baliol in the first year of his reign was summoned no less than four times to appear before the King of England. The final rupture between the two monarchs was caused by the breaking out of war between England and France in 1294. Edward summoned the Scottish king and nobles to attend him in person to the field. The Parliament of Scotland assembled at Scone; but instead of complying with Edward's demands, they proceeded to enter into an alliance with France, and declared war against England. Edward at once marched into Scotland with a powerful army, and inflicted a speedy and terrible vengeance upon his enemies. On Good Friday, 1296, the wealthy and important town of Berwick was taken and sacked by the English troops; and so thorough was the work of destruction, that it never recovered its former pre-eminence. Baliol's renunciation of his homage, which he sent to Edward by the hands of the Abbot of Arbroath, only infuriated that monarch the more. "Fool and traitor!" were his words, "what madness is this? If he will not come to us, we will go to him!"¹ A few weeks later the Scot-

English invasion of Scotland.

Sack of Berwick.

¹ Wyntoun, *Cronykil*, b. viii. l. 1661 :—

" 'A! ce fol felun, tel foly fettis.'
In Frawnxis quhen this he had sayd thare,
In Frawnxis he sayd yhit forthirmare
'S'il ne voit venir a nos, nos vendrumb a ly.'"

tish army was utterly defeated on the bloody field of Dunbar (April 27, 1296). Edward advanced triumphantly to Perth, and there with all solemnity and feudal pomp celebrated the Feast of St John Baptist, surrounded by the flower of his nobility. In the midst of the festivities, messengers arrived with the tidings of Baliol's unconditional submission. It was scornfully intimated to him that he should go forthwith to Brechin, and there await the arrival of the conqueror. Here, in presence of the Bishop of Durham and the English barons, the unfortunate monarch was stripped of the royal insignia, the mantle, sceptre, and crown. A white staff, the sign of vassaldom, was placed in his hand, and thus degraded he was forced to read a formal confession of his crimes against his feudal lord. He then delivered his eldest son to Edward as a hostage, and with him was sent to London, where he remained for three years a prisoner in the Tower. He was afterwards permitted to retire to France, where he died in obscurity in 1305.

Degradation of Baliol.

His death.

Edward, on his return from the north, took with him from Scone the famous stone on which the Scottish kings had for centuries been crowned and anointed. He placed it in the Abbey of Westminster, where it still remains after a lapse of nearly six hundred years.

In the year 1300, Edward granted a truce to the Scots, chiefly through the interposition of

Pope Boniface VIII. An embassy had in the early part of this year been despatched to Rome, entreating the Pope's intervention on behalf of Scotland. It was represented to him that Scotland had been from the earliest times a fief of the Holy See; and not only was this view upheld by the Scottish representatives, but the regent Soulis, in his instructions to the embassy, reminded them that the same objection had been raised when King Edward had first laid claim to feudal superiority over Scotland. Pope Boniface accordingly addressed a letter to the King of England, and intrusted its delivery to Robert Winchilsea, Archbishop of Canterbury. After a difficult and dangerous journey, the prelate reached the castle of Caerlaverock, near which Edward was encamped, and delivered to him the papal brief. Boniface in this document affirmed that the feudal superiority over Scotland had belonged from time immemorial to the Holy See, and proved by various arguments that England had no right to the fealty of the Scottish crown. The Pope further pointed out that the guardianship of the Maid of Norway had not been intrusted to King Edward, but to a representative body of Scottish nobles; that the independence of Scotland had been guaranteed by the provisions of the treaty of Brigham; and finally, that whatever steps might have been taken by a disunited nobility derogatory to ancient Scottish rights

and liberties, ought no longer to be considered binding. Boniface concluded by exhorting the king to set free the Scottish prisoners detained by him, and to leave to the realm of Scotland its right of self-government unimpaired.¹

Edward's first feeling, on receipt of the papal brief, was one of violent resentment. However, summoning the archbishop to his presence, he informed him that he was resolved to decide the matter, not according to his individual sentiments, but with the advice and counsel of the magnates of his kingdom, thus giving evidence of the deep veneration which he entertained towards the Apostolic See. Accordingly, at a Parliament held at Lincoln, a letter was drawn up in reply to Pope Boniface, the king having previously secured the goodwill of his nobles by the confirmation of various long-delayed privileges. In this letter the English barons respectfully but firmly declined to admit the papal intervention in the matter in dispute, asserting that England had from the beginning of her history lawfully claimed and enjoyed superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, and that the king could not submit the question of this undoubted right to the judgment of the Pope. They added that they themselves were bound by oath to protect the liberties of the realm, and ended by entreating the Pope to leave the king undis-

Rejoinder
of the Eng-
lish barons.

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 407.

turbed in the enjoyment of his rights.¹ By way of supplement to this document, Edward two months later addressed a private letter to Boniface, in which he set forth at length the grounds of his claim, and the reasons which he considered as justifying his invasion of Scotland. Whether influenced by these representations or not, the Pope appears to have no longer favoured the Scottish cause. On August 15, 1302, he addressed a letter to the bishops of Scotland, and another to Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, desiring them to desist from opposition to Edward, and threatening them, in case of non-compliance, with further measures.² Abandoned by the Pope, and deserted also by Philip of France, the Scotch still continued their heroic efforts to shake off the yoke of England. Edward pursued his object with relentless severity, sparing none who fell into his hands. Among his victims was the

Papal leanings to England.

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 875.

² The Pope's language in these letters is singularly plain. "The stone of offence and the rock of scandal," "author and abettor of disturbance, dissension, and discord," "obnoxious to God and to men," are among the terms he employs towards these too patriotic prelates. See Theiner, *Monumenta*, pp. 170, 171.—TRANSLATOR.

Boniface VIII. has recently been attacked for claiming superiority over Scotland. It must be remembered, however, that his predecessor Nicholas IV. had already refused to allow the claim of Edward, on the ground that he could not interfere with the rights of the Holy See. Besides, as Cardinal Hergenröther has pointed out (*Catholic Church and Christian State*, pp. 250 seq.), all that Boniface did was to repeat the arguments put into his mouth by the Scottish commissioners, without expressing any decided view of his own on the question.

William Wallace.

Murder of Comyn, and coronation of Bruce.

His excom-
munic-
ation.

Death of Edward I.

Victory of Bannock-
burn.

valiant and patriotic William Wallace. Comyn and Bruce (grandson of the rival of John Baliol) were now the chief claimants to the crown of Scotland. The contest between them ended on February 10, 1306, when Bruce, in a moment of passion, stabbed his rival in the Minorite Church at Dumfries. Bruce now assumed the kingly power, and was solemnly crowned by the Bishop of Glasgow at Scone. Hard pressed, however, by his enemies, he was forced to fly to the mountain fastnesses; and thence to take refuge in Ireland. While in hiding there, he was, with his adherents, solemnly excommunicated by the papal legate in England, the Cardinal of St Sabina.

But the great obstacle to Scottish independence was now to be removed, by the death of the redoubtable King Edward, which occurred on July 7, 1307. His last request was a characteristic one. It was that his heart should be taken to Jerusalem, and his body, reduced by boiling to a skeleton, should be carried with his army to Scotland, and there remain so long as that country continued unsubdued. Robert Bruce had now to defend his crown against a very different antagonist—one who had indeed inherited the ambitious plans of his father, but without the genius or the energy to execute them. The war continued for a time with varying success; but the glorious victory of Bannockburn, in the year 1314, and the utter rout of the English army,

secured the independence of Scotland. Unable to defend his dominions against the Scots by force of arms, Edward sought the help of the Papal Court at Avignon; and in the year 1317 two cardinals arrived in England, charged by Pope John XXII. with the mission of restoring peace between England and Scotland. The legates Papal
legates to
Scotland. themselves remained at Durham, sending thence the Bishop of Corbeil, with an ecclesiastic named Aymer, to wait upon King Robert. The papal letters withheld from Bruce the title of king, styling him merely governor of Scotland;¹ and Robert accordingly refused to receive them. To the explanation of the nuncios, that it was not the custom of the Church in controverted questions to say anything prejudicial to either party, Bruce rejoined that by refusing him a title which was universally recognised, the Church had already prejudged his cause; and he further informed them that he could by no means consent to the proposed truce without the consent of his Parliament. Adam of Newton, the guardian of the Franciscan convent at Berwick, was next charged with the duty of publishing the papal truce in the Scottish camp. Robert again declined to receive any documents which did not bear his kingly title, but the messenger nevertheless ful-

¹ The brief *Rex excelsus*, addressed to the Cardinals Gaucelin and Luke, styles Edward "Regem Angliæ illustrem," while it merely entitles Bruce "nobilem virum in præsentiarum Regnum Scotiæ gubernantem."—TRANSLATOR.

filled his mission by publicly proclaiming a two-years' truce on the authority of the Pope.

On learning from their representative how he had been received by the Scottish monarch, the Bruce again cardinal legates proceeded solemnly to excommunicated. munitate Bruce and his adherents. Edward was at the same time compelled, owing to the opposition of his Parliament, to disband his army. The sentence of the legates was confirmed by the Pope in the bull *Apostolicæ considerationis*, dated June 13, 1320.¹ Bruce, convinced by the language of the Roman authorities that the Papal Court had been misled by the representations of his enemies, had meanwhile assembled a Parliament at Arbroath; and thence, on April 6, a letter was addressed to the Pope, depicting in vivid colours the grievous wrongs inflicted upon Scotland by the English kings, and warning his Holiness that should he continue to give credence to English calumnies, the consequent loss of life and destruction of souls would be laid to his charge by God. These representations appear to have had some effect, for we find the Pope a little later condescending to give his reasons for withholding the kingly title from Bruce,² and in a subsequent letter suspending the sentence of excommunica-

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 203.

² *Ibid.*, p. 208. “Non ferat ægre tuæ Magnitudinis providentia, si nostra textus epistolæ te Regem Scotiæ non affirmat. Profecto quidem hoc prompte et placide faceret, nisi consuetudo repugnaret curiæ, et altera hæc assertio aliqualiter derogaret.”

tion, and exhorting Robert to conclude peace with England. It was not, however, until the year 1328 that Bruce was finally and fully absolved from the censures of the Church, in a brief dated October 15 of that year.¹ A few months previously peace had been concluded between the two kingdoms at Edinburgh; and by a treaty signed at Northampton, Edward recognised the complete independence of Scotland, and acknowledged Robert as king. The compact was sealed by the betrothal of David, only son of the King of Scotland, to the Princess Joan, sister to Edward III. of England. On June 13, 1329, Pope John XXII. issued a bull, in which, after reference to the ancient custom whereby the Scottish kings had received the royal insignia from the bishops of St Andrews, he decrees that they shall in future be not only crowned but also anointed by the bishops of that see, or, failing them, by the bishops of the see of Glasgow.¹

King Robert, prematurely broken down by illness, was unable to be present at the nuptials of his son, which were solemnised at Berwick with great magnificence. He received the youthful pair at Edinburgh, and immediately retired to his castle at Cardross, where he died on June 7, 1329, aged fifty-seven years. Froissart has left us a touching narrative of Robert's dying request to his faithful friend, Sir James Douglas. "Sir

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 240.

² *Ibid.*, p. 244.

His abso-
lution.

Treaty of
Northamp-
ton.

Death of
Robert
Bruce.

His dying
request.

James, my dear friend, none knows better than you how great labour and suffering I have undergone in my day for the maintenance of the rights of this kingdom ; and when I was hardest beset, made a vow which it now grieves me deeply that I have not accomplished. I vowed to God that if I should live to see an end of my wars, and be enabled to govern this realm in peace and security, I would then set out in person and carry on war against the enemies of my Lord and Saviour, to the best of my power. Never has my heart ceased to bend to that point ; but our Lord has not consented thereto ; for I have had my hands full in my days, and now at the last I am seized with this grievous sickness, so that, as you all see, I have nothing to do but to die. And since my body cannot go thither and accomplish that which my heart hath so much desired, I have resolved to send my heart there, in place of my body, to fulfil my vow. I entreat thee, therefore, my dear and tried friend, that for the love you bear to me you will undertake this voyage, and acquit my soul of its debt to my Saviour.” On the knight’s promising faithfully to obey his commands, “Praise be to God !” said the king, “I shall die in peace, since I am assured that the best and most valiant knight of my kingdom has promised to achieve for me that which I myself could never accomplish.”¹ So died Robert Bruce,

¹ Froissart, vol. i. pp. 28, 29. [Quoted by Tytler, *Hist.*, vol. i. p. 158.]

one of the greatest monarchs who ever wore the Scottish crown. Naturally religious, chivalrous, and full of enthusiasm in the cause of his country's independence, his subsequent virtues atoned for the savage act that stained his accession to the throne ; and his heroic deeds long continued to live in Scottish song, and in the hearts of his countrymen.

King Robert was twice married. By his first wife Isabella, daughter of the Earl of Mar, he had a daughter Marjory, who married Walter, High Steward of Scotland. From this union sprang a son, Robert, who afterwards ascended the throne as Robert II., and founder of the dynasty of Stewart.

Meanwhile, the interregnum which followed the death of Alexander III., the English invasion, the nominal rule of Baliol, and the depredations of Edward I., had been the cause of many evils to the Scottish nation ; and the prosperity in which Alexander had left the kingdom had been disastrously checked. In many parts of Scotland, more especially in the remoter districts, right and law were no longer recognised. For two hundred years England and Scotland, although separate kingdoms, had been practically one people ; but this union was now fatally interrupted. The good understanding which had prevailed between the clergy of the sister countries was now abruptly broken off. Nobles and clerics of Eng-

State of the
country.

lish birth left Scotland in large numbers, and the remembrance of the common origin of the two peoples seemed utterly forgotten. The effects of the war were no less disastrous to the Scottish Church than to the country at large. Clergy and laity had degenerated alike; and we find for the first time the bishops appearing in the guise of feudal barons at the head of their armed retainers, and taking an active part in the war against England. Nor did they scruple to take solemn oaths of fealty to Edward, and to break them at the first opportunity. We cannot wonder if under such circumstances the state of religion and morality among the people was far from satisfactory.

We have but scanty records of the meetings of the Scottish clergy during these forty years of disturbance and unrest. In 1310 a provincial council appears to have assembled at Dundee, and to have declared their adhesion to the cause of King Robert. We know nothing more of their deliberations.¹ Another council met at Perth on July 9, 1321. All that we have recorded of it is that Agnes of Morthington confirmed by oath, before the assembled prelates, the sale of some lands to one John Bruning for three hundred and

Provincial
council at
Dundee;

at Perth;

¹ This council is styled in the deed of adhesion "Concilium generale Scoticanum," by which Fr. Thomas Innes understood a Provincial Council of the Scottish Clergy. Others, however, have interpreted it to mean a general assembly of the Estates—in other words, a Parliament.—TRANSLATOR.

sixty merks. Little more remains of the proceedings of the council held three years later at Scone.¹ A protest, however, of the Bishop of Glasgow is extant, bearing the seal of the conservator, and complaining of lay interference in the collation of benefices. The Scottish kings had long claimed the right of presentation to benefices which fell vacant between the death of a bishop and the taking of the oath of fealty by his successor. This claim had not passed without resistance. The grandfather of Robert Bruce had protested against the right of Alexander III. to present to the churches of Annandale (of which he was the feudal lord) during a vacancy in the see of Glasgow. The protest was unavailing, but the royal claims were later opposed in Rome itself. Pope Alexander IV., indeed, while refusing to annul the appointment of John of Cheam to the bishopric of Glasgow, at the king's request, nevertheless confirmed to the latter the temporalities of the see until the new bishop had taken the oath.¹ John XXII., however, in the year 1323, bestowed upon John of Lindsay not only the spiritualities of the see of Glasgow, but the administration of the temporalities also. The Pope likewise reserved to himself the prebend in Glasgow Cathedral, vacated by the promotion of the new prelate, and bestowed it upon an Italian, Nicholas Guercino, whose uncle had consecrated the newly

Right of
presenta-
tion claim-
ed by Scot-
tish kings.

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 86.

appointed bishop.¹ King Robert had meanwhile presented Walter of Twynam to the vacant prebend, and demanded his institution at the hands of the Bishop of Glasgow, immediately on his return to his see. In order to avoid giving offence to the Pope on the one hand, and the king on the other, the bishop chose a middle course. While confirming the royal nomination, he expressly reserved at the same time the rights of the Pope. The fact of the Episcopal protest bearing the seal of the conservator, seems to show that the bishop brought the matter before the provincial council, and procured the ratification of his act by that assembly.²

See of St Andrews.

Bishop Fraser.

At the time of the death of Alexander III., the see of *St Andrews* was occupied by a prelate of great ability, William Fraser, who was appointed one of the regents of the kingdom. He had been Chancellor of Scotland, was elected to the bishopric in 1279—"the Culdees being excluded," says Fordun, "as in the preceding election"—and received consecration from Pope Nicholas III. in the following year.³ During the short reign of Baliol, Bishop Fraser was sent by that monarch to France, to negotiate about the marriage of his son Prince Edward, and he appears to have died before his return to Scotland, in August 1297.

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 226.

² *Regist. Ep. Glasg.*, i. p. 230. Robertson, *Statuta*, i. p. lxxvi.

³ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 124.

Bishop Fraser has been represented in some quarters as having been a partisan of King Edward, and a traitor to his country ; but these charges appear unfounded. In November 1297, William Lamberton, Chancellor of Glasgow, was chosen as Bishop ^{Lamberton.} Fraser's successor. In connection with this election we have an interesting glimpse of the Culdees, who renewed their ancient claim to participate in the choice of the bishop. William Comyn, their provost, went to Rome in order to protest against the election by the prior and canons. The Pope, however (Boniface VIII.), refused to listen to them, confirmed the election of Lamberton, and issued a mandate for his consecration by the Bishop of Porto.¹ In November 1309, Bishop Lamberton, by desire of Pope Clement V., conducted an inquiry in connection with the proceedings against the Knights-Templars. He was assisted by John de Salerio (described as a "cleric of the Pope"), and forty-one witnesses were examined, including the only two knights of the order then in Scotland, and several abbots and other ecclesiastics. Walter de Clifton, the senior preceptor in Scotland, gave evidence as to the rites of initiation into the order. To the various articles of accusation, on each of which he was separately interrogated, he returned an absolute negative. The depositions of the other witnesses, including the abbots of Dunfermline,

<sup>Protest of
the Cul-
dees.</sup>

<sup>The
Knights-
Templars.</sup>

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 165. Fordun, *Scotichron.*, vi. c. 44.

Holyrood, and Newbottle, and the Franciscan guardian of Haddington, did nothing to substantiate the charges. An unfavourable impression, indeed, seemed to be prevalent regarding the order; but partly, no doubt, owing to the secrecy with which all their proceedings were conducted, very little appeared to be definitely known about them.¹

Cathedral
of St
Andrews.

During the episcopate of Bishop Lamberton, the Cathedral of St Andrews was completed; and on July 5, 1318, it was solemnly consecrated in presence of King Robert Bruce, seven bishops, fifteen abbots, and a large number of the nobles. Bishop William belonged to the number of those prelates who repeatedly swore fealty to Edward of England, and as frequently returned to their allegiance to the national cause. Edward, in consequence, prepared a petition to Pope John XXII. to depose the bishop, and to appoint Thomas de Rivers, an English minorite, to the see. The Pope refused to comply with the king's request, although the latter alleged that Clement V. had already bestowed the see upon Rivers.

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. ii. p. 380. It is generally allowed that the downfall of the Templars was owing more to the cupidity of Philip the Fair of France, than to any real necessity for their extinction. In Germany, Spain, and Portugal they were acquitted of all charges laid against them, and they were condemned in England on utterly inadequate evidence. At the suppression of the order in 1311, most of their property went to the Knights of St John. They possessed, at one time or another, some fifteen houses in Scotland.—TRANSLATOR.

Bishop Lamberton died in the year 1328, and was succeeded by James Bene, Archdeacon of St Andrews. The Culdees, headed by their provost William Comyn, appear to have again opposed the election, without, however, persisting in an appeal to Rome.

Among the prelates who supported most openly the cause of Scottish independence was Robert Wishart, Bishop of *Glasgow*. He had, it is true, sworn allegiance to Edward, but he nevertheless attached himself early to the party of Wallace and Bruce. It was he who crowned Robert at Scone, on March 27, 1305, having previously absolved him from the sacrilegious murder of Comyn. In the following year, immediately after the battle of Methven, Bishop Lamberton of St Andrews and the Abbot of Scone were taken prisoner by the troops of the Earl of Pembroke, and sent to England in chains. A similar fate overtook Bishop Wishart, who remained a prisoner in England until after the battle of Bannockburn in 1314. King Edward endeavoured to induce the Pope to deprive him of his see, but without success. On his death in 1316, Stephen de Donydower was chosen bishop; but he appears to have died before consecration, and to have been succeeded (although the records of this period are somewhat confusing) by John de Lindsay.

The see of *Dunkeld* was occupied from about

Bishop
Bene.

See of
Glasgow.
Bishop
Wishart.

Bishop
Dony-
dower.

Bishop
Lindsay.

See of
Dunkeld.

Bishop Crambeth.

Bishop Sinclair.

See of Moray.
Bishop David.

Beginning of the Scotch College in Paris.

See of Dunblane.
Bishop Balmyle.

the year 1290 to 1309 by Matthew Crambeth. His successor, William Sinclair, is related to have himself headed his vassals on the English invasion in 1317, and to have driven them back to their ships. He was high in favour with King Robert, who styled him his own bishop. Bishop David of *Moray*, who was consecrated at Anagni on June 28, 1299, was distinguished alike for his zeal in the Scottish cause and as a patron of learning. A stanch adherent of King Robert, he taught his people that in fighting against England they gained as much merit as by contending with heathens and Saracens. Bishop David was at one time forced to fly before the English advance, and to take refuge in Orkney. Towards the end of his life he founded some burses in the University of Paris for Scottish students; and he may thus be considered in a sense the founder of the Scotch College in that city.¹ Of this institution, which became the source of so many blessings to Scotland, we shall have occasion to speak later on. In the see of Brechin, Bishop John was succeeded about the year 1328 by Adam, who was consecrated by the Bishop of Sabina, probably at Avignon.² At the beginning of the fourteenth century Nicholas de Balmyle was Bishop of *Dunblane*. On his death, Edward II. of England petitioned the Pope to

¹ *Reg. Episc. Morav.*, pp. 253, 254.

² *Regist. vetus de Aberbrothoc*, pp. 184, 339.

prefer Richard of Pontefract, an English Dominican, to the vacant see. The request, however, was refused, and Maurice, Abbot of Inchaffray, ^{Bishop Maurice.} was appointed bishop. It was this same Maurice who, on the morning of the battle of Bannockburn, June 24, 1314, celebrated Mass on an eminence in front of the Scottish lines, and exhorted the soldiers to a brave defence of their country. The see of *Galloway* was at this period still subject ^{See of Galloway.} to the ecclesiastical province of York. We find, accordingly, that Thomas de Dalltoun, who was ^{Bishop Dalltoun.} consecrated Bishop of Galloway on August 15, 1294, assisted as a suffragan of York at two provincial councils held within the cathedral of that city, with reference to the charges brought against the Knights-Templars. In *Orkney*, William succeeded Dolgfin as bishop in 1310. Ten years later the Archbishop of Drontheim commissioned a prebendary of his cathedral and the Archdeacon of Man to visit Orkney and inquire into certain complaints brought against Bishop William. ^{See of Orkney. Bishop William.}

David II. was a child of five years old when he succeeded to the throne by his father's death—a fact which foreboded ill for the peace of Scotland. The young king was crowned at Scone, with his consort Joan, in 1331, the ceremonies of coronation and anointing being performed, in terms of the bull of John XXII., by the Bishop of St Andrews. The regency meanwhile remained in

the hands of the Earl of Moray, whose prudence was equal to his valour, and who kept down the turbulent nobility with a firm hand. His death, however, which occurred in 1332, was quickly followed not only by feuds and disturbances, but

Conspiracy
against
him.

by a conspiracy against the young king, entered into by the barons whom Bruce had disinherited for taking part with England. In a battle fought

Battle of
Dupplin.

on Dupplin Moor towards the close of the year 1332, between the party of Edward Baliol, who had renewed his pretensions to the throne, and the adherents of King David, the latter were totally defeated, and Baliol was shortly afterwards

Coronation
of Baliol.

crowned King of Scotland at Scone. The young king fled to France, where he remained for nearly ten years. His education at the French Court was not of a kind to fit him for the difficulties which lay before him. To a character naturally impetuous and prone to violent passions, he united an immoderate love of pleasure and a total absence of all those great qualities which were

Return of
David.

requisite for his position. On his return to Scotland in 1341, he found himself involved in war with Edward III. of England. With something of his father's intrepidity, but little or nothing of his skill and judgment, David determined to

Invasion of
England.

invade England in person. He accordingly led an army into Northumberland, and besieged and captured the castle of Liddel. The English forces, however, assembled in overwhelming numbers;

and on October 17, 1346, David's army was utterly defeated at Durham, and he himself taken prisoner, carried to London, and confined in the Tower.¹ He was not permitted to return to Scotland for eleven years, and the rest of his long reign is occupied by a series of intrigues and negotiations between the king himself and the nobility of England and Scotland, by which the hard-won independence of his country was all but sacrificed. David's last years were embittered by his relations with his queen, Margaret Logy, whom he had married in 1362, after the death of his first wife, Joan of England.² In the last year of his reign David held a Parliament at Perth, and at it sentence of divorce was pronounced against Margaret. Little or nothing is known of the person or character of the queen, or of what ground there may have been for such a proceeding. She is related to have been fond of lavish expenditure, and addicted especially to costly pilgrimages; and her influence appears to have induced David to imprison the High Steward (afterwards Robert II.) and his sons. The real reason of the divorce, however, is unknown to us. The sentence was pronounced in the Lent of 1370; and the queen immediately collected her treasures and took ship for France, in order to

Battle of
Durham.
The king
taken
prisoner.

Divorce of
the queen.

¹ Tytler (*Hist.*, vol. i. p. 192) describes the haughty pomp with which Edward conveyed his royal captive to the Tower.

² Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 337.

appeal in person to the Pope at Avignon. King David at the same time sent ambassadors to the Pope, who were charged to uphold the justice of his cause. But they were unable to prevail against the favourable impression which had been made by the representations of Margaret ; and so strained did matters become that the Pope threatened Scotland with an interdict, which was only averted by the death of the queen while she was journeying to Rome. No record has come down to us as to the judgment ultimately pronounced by the Holy See ; but the matter seems to have been carried beyond the date of King David's death, for we find Robert II. appealing to Charles V. of France four years afterwards, to use his influence in obtaining a decision from Rome.¹

The ecclesiastical history of Scotland during the reign of David II. presents few facts of interest or importance. We have on record the meeting of a provincial council in the Blackfriars' Church at Aberdeen, on November 26, 1359.

Provincial council at Aberdeen;

at Perth.

The only transaction that has come down to us is the attestation of a bull of Pope Adrian IV., dated 1157, and confirming its possessions to the see of Aberdeen.² Another council met at Perth before the close of the century, probably about

¹ Robertson, *Index to Charters*, p. 100. The embassy of the King of Scotland to France is said to have been sent at the instance of Queen Margaret, but we have no record of how it was received.—TRANSLATOR.

² *Reg. Episc. Aberdon.*, vol. i. pp. 84-86.

1390. The letter from the conservator, the Bishop of Moray, summoning the council, has been preserved.¹ It speaks of the grievous sufferings and wrongs under which the Church in the north was labouring—in allusion, doubtless, to the ravages of the Wolf of Badenoch, brother of King Robert III., who, in the early part of that king's reign, burned the city and cathedral of Elgin.² The chronicle of Moray depicts in vivid language the state of the country at that period. “There was no law in Scotland, but the great man oppressed the poor man, and the whole kingdom was one den of thieves. Slaughters, robberies, fire-raisings, and other crimes passed unpunished, and outlawed justice was banished from the realm.”³

During the second half of the fourteenth century, we first find recorded the foundation of a collegiate church—a proof of the influence still exercised by religion on men's hearts. These collegiate churches were establishments of secondary importance to the great cathedral and monastic institutions, and consisted generally of a dean and a certain number of canons, whose principal duty was the solemn performance of divine service. The earliest foundation of this nature

Collegiate
churches.

¹ Robertson, *Statuta*, pp. 3, 4, No. ii.

² The “Wolf of Badenoch” afterwards did penance for this crime on his bare knees and clothed in sackcloth. Bishop Trail of St Andrews gave him absolution, by command of the Pope.—TRANSLATOR.

³ *Reg. Episc. Morav.*, pp. 381 seq.

Dunbar. appears to have been at Dunbar, where a collegiate church was established about 1342 by Patrick, Earl of March, for a dean, an archpriest, and eighteen canons.¹ Some forty of these establishments were founded in Scotland before the Reformation.²

The notices which have come down to us of the Scottish bishops, during this period of strife and commotion, show that they suffered not less than the nation at large from the distracted condition of the country. Bishop Bene of *St Andrews* abandoned his see after the battle of Dupplin, in terror of the English, fled to Flanders, and died at Bruges on September 22, 1332.³ The choice of the canons fell upon William Bell, Dean of Dunkeld, who accordingly went to Avignon to procure his confirmation from the Holy See. Edward III. had meanwhile petitioned for the appointment of Robert of Ayleston, Archdeacon of Berks; and although the Pope refused to comply with his request, he appeared afraid to confirm the election of the canons. The see consequently remained vacant for nine years, and was only filled in 1342 by the consecration of William de Landel, parson of Kinkell. John Lindsay, Bishop of *Glasgow*, who had also taken refuge in France, embarked in August 1335 to

Flight of
Bishop
Bene.

Vacancy
in the see
of St An-
drews.

Bishop de
Landel.

¹ Chalmers, *Caledonia*, vol. ii, p. 511.

² See *post*, p. 184; and, for a complete list of the collegiate churches of Scotland, Appendix II.

³ Fordun, *Scotichron.*, Bk. vi. c. 45.

return to Scotland. The ship in which he sailed was attacked by the English, and the bishop received a mortal wound.¹ He was succeeded by William Rae, who was followed in his turn by Walter Wardlaw. Bishop Wardlaw, when Arch-deacon of Lothian, had obtained leave from Edward III. to officiate in those parts of the Merse which were subject to England. The see of *Man* See of Man. was held successively by Bernard, Thomas (a Scotchman), and William Russell, Abbot of Rushin. Russell was consecrated at Avignon by Pope Clement VI.² The Isle of Man had been conquered by Edward III. in 1334, during the episcopate of Thomas, and its civil connection with Scotland had thus come to an end. The consecration of the new bishop by the Pope was possibly at the instance of the English monarch, in order to break off the relations between the diocese of Man and that of Drontheim in Norway. No change, however, appears to have been as yet brought about; and we find William continuing to govern the western islands as well as Man. In the year 1350 he held a diocesan synod, which enacted several canons.³

The long and inglorious reign of David II. came to an end in 1370. Both his marriages

Violent
death of
Bishop
Lindsay of
Glasgow.

Its rela-
tions with
Drontheim.

Death of
David II.

¹ The Register of Glasgow, however (Pref., p. xxxvii), states that the bishop and some of his companions died of grief at the fate of the remainder.—TRANSLATOR.

² *Chronicon Manniae*, p. 46.

³ Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. pp. 10-12.

Accession
of Robert
II.

had been childless, and Robert Stuart, son of the High Steward and of Marjory, daughter of Robert Bruce, succeeded to the throne as Robert II. He was crowned at Scone by the Bishop of St Andrews on March 25, 1371. The new king, who was fifty-four years old at his accession, had, whilst regent during his predecessor's captivity, shown himself possessed of valour and ability. As king, however, he gave little proof of vigour or administrative talent, and he passed a great part of his time in retirement on his manors in Ayrshire. It must be borne in mind that both England and Scotland had been now to great extent exhausted by nearly seventy years' continuous war, and stood sorely in need of some repose. Fighting seldom ceased upon the Border; and in the more serious encounters which took place the old heroism was not wanting, and the Scotch, as in the chivalrous battle of Otterburn in 1388,¹ were generally victorious. King Robert II. died on April 9, 1390, and was succeeded by his eldest son, John, Earl of Carrick, who was crowned at Scone on August 14 of the same year. The new monarch, on account of the identity of his name with that of the unfortunate Baliol, changed it at his coronation, and was known as Robert III. Of a character

Accession
of Robert
III.

¹ Froissart (vol. xi. pp. 400 *seq.*) has painted in most picturesque colours the incidents of this gallant fight. Brilliant as it was, however, it had no great or lasting results, and thus differed widely from the glorious victories of the war of independence.—TRANSLATOR.

mild and upright, and deep religious principles, Robert, with his virtuous queen, Annabella Drummond, recalled to his people the days of David I. and Matilda. The valour and energy which were hereditary in the house of Stewart, were not wanting in him; but having been lamed by an accident in his youth, he was incapable of much personal vigour or activity. In proportion as the danger from a foreign foe diminished, the independence and turbulence of the great feudal barons increased; while the Saxon populations of the Lowlands were continually exposed to the ravages of the wild and lawless Highland clans. Owing to the king's infirmity, much of his power had passed into the hands of his brother Robert, Duke of Albany. This ambitious and unprincipled prince did nothing to repress the unruly nobles, and did not scruple to imprison and cause to be foully murdered David, Duke of Rothesay, ^{Albany.} the king's eldest son.¹ Robert became alarmed for the safety of his only surviving son, James, and determined to send him over sea to France, to be educated at the Court of that kingdom. The ship in which he sailed, however, was attacked by English cruisers, and the prince, in spite of the truce existing between the two countries, was carried prisoner to London. Albany, ^{Murder of Rothesay.} who had the reins of power completely in his ^{Capture of Prince James.}

¹ He was starved to death in the year 1401, with circumstances of the utmost barbarity.—TRANSLATOR.

hands, seems not to have made the slightest protest against this gross violation of international right, which harmonised, indeed, only too well with his ambitious plans. King Robert III. did not long survive the captivity of his son. Worn out not so much with age as with grief at the disasters that had fallen upon his family, he died on April 4, 1406, after a reign of scarcely sixteen years. Estimable in the highest degree as a man and a Christian, he was sadly wanting in the qualities requisite for a successful sovereign in these turbulent times. "Had he been born in the rank of a subject," Tytler justly remarks,¹ "he would have been amongst the best and wisest men in his dominions; but as a king, his timidity and irresolution rendered all his virtues of none avail, and permitted the government to fall into the hands of a usurper."

Death of
Robert III.

His char-
acter.

Loosening
of the tie
between
Church
and State.

The field of ecclesiastical history during the reign of Robert III. is singularly barren of important events. The period was one in which the State appeared to have shaken off to some extent the salutary influence of the Church, and the close connection which had existed between them during the middle ages was considerably loosened. The exile of the Popes at Avignon had just come to an end, and the painful spectacle of a disputed papal election was again, after many centuries, presented to Christendom. The result of this

¹ *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 34.

state of things was manifested in a visible weakening of respect for spiritual power ; and in Scotland, as elsewhere, we find traces of the antagonism between Church and State, which was afterwards to assume such fatal proportions.

The continual feuds among the nobility were not favourable to the holding of Provincial Councils. We find, in fact, that an appeal to the Conservator of the Council, made by William of Busbi against the appointment of John Mason by the Bishop of Moray to the Benedictine Priory of Urquhart, was decided by the king in Parliament, with the advice of the assembled clergy.¹ Another Parliament, which met at Scone in 1401, enacted that any one who thought himself unjustly excommunicated was empowered, within the space of forty days, to appeal from the bishop to the Conservator, and from him to the Provincial Council, which was to have full jurisdiction in such cases as long as the papal schism should continue. "To this ordinance," it is added, "the clergy consented, during the schism, like the rest of the king's lieges."² This assembly was not, as has been supposed, a combination of a parliament and an ecclesiastical council, but a true parliament, in which the bishops had a seat and a voice as barons of the realm. We have glimpses, during this period, of other questions affecting the

Decision of ecclesiastical questions in Parliament.

¹ Robertson, *Statuta*, p. li, note 6.

² *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 214.

relations of Church and State. In spite of the prohibitions both of David II. and his successor, we find frequent instances of the appropriation of the property of deceased bishops by officials of the State. Gregory XI. issued a bull against such usurpation on March 19, 1375.¹

Synodal
statutes
of St An-
drews.

To the close of the fourteenth century belong a collection of synodal statutes of St Andrews, which are still extant, although we have no means of knowing their exact date, or under what bishop they were enacted. From one of these statutes we gather that the system of parochial registers of deaths was introduced at this period into the Scottish Church. The following is a summary of the statutes in question: 1. Every rector and vicar to have a copy of the statutes, and to be able to read and understand them, lest any inconvenience be caused, through their ignorance, to the archdeacons and other officials. This copy to be brought to the annual synod, on pain of a fine of forty *solidi*. 2. Rectors and vicars to reside on their benefices, under penalty of a fine of ten merks for rectors and a hundred *solidi* for other beneficiaries. 3. The parsonage-houses being too small for the proper reception of the prelates coming to make their visitation of the parishes, every incumbent to make arrangements for building (*super aedificando disponat*) what is necessary, in proportion to his means, before the following

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 353.

synod; and this under penalty of a fine of a hundred *solidi*. 4. Clerical concubinage absolutely forbidden. Three months is given as the extreme limit for carrying out this command; and the penalty for disobedience is (besides suspension from saying mass) a fine of forty *solidi* after the first warning, ten merks after the second, and privation of benefice after the third. 5. Clerics from other dioceses not to be allowed to say mass without ordination-papers and dimissorial letters, which are to be approved by the officials of the diocese into which they come. 6. Members of religious orders coming into the diocese not to have the cure of souls, or to administer the sacraments, without the licence of the Ordinary, which licence is to be preserved by the religious. 7. Certain priests being in the habit, more for the sake of gain than out of devotion, of accepting stipends and saying several masses on one day, without necessity, such a practice is forbidden, on pain of a fine of a hundred *solidi*, to be applied to pious uses. 8. A similar fine to be imposed on those who induce lay men or women to give stipends for such masses. 9. A certain number of priests appointed to hear confessions in each deanery. 10. Every church to be provided with a fitting number of priests and clerics, that the divine service may not suffer. 11. No priest to celebrate mass wearing a tunic that does not fall below the knees. Violation of this rule to be punished by a

Synodal
statutes
of St An-
drews.

Synodal
statutes
of St An-
drews.

fine of ten merks, half to go to the informer, and half to pious uses. 12. Every rector, vicar, and parish priest to possess a seal, circumscribed with his name, for the authentication of citations and other documents sent to him for execution by the bishop and archdeacon. 13. Priests not to carry about them the long knives called *hangers*, except when equipped for a journey. 14. No ecclesiastic, either directly or indirectly, to lease his benefice to laity. Any one violating this regulation to be deprived of his benefice for a year, the income thereof being applied to the fabric of the church of St Andrews. 15. No beneficed clergyman, without special licence of the Ordinary, to accept any secular administration, the affairs of the king, queen, and royal family always excepted. 16. Marriages not to be solemnised without banns. Priests breaking this rule to incur suspension *ipso facto* for three years, without hope of future promotion, except by special dispensation. 17. Betrothals to take place in presence of the parish priest and trustworthy witnesses. The banns to be proclaimed on the following Sundays; and the nuptial benediction to be given not in private chapels or in secret, but solemnly and publicly in the parish church. 18. Ecclesiastics desiring to defend their characters, if attacked, not to have recourse to secular tribunals. 19. Excommunicated persons not to be admitted to Christian burial. 20. All rectors, vicars, parish priests, and chaplains

to assemble in consistory once a-year, in order to receive instruction as to the celebration of mass, the administration of the sacraments, and the cure of souls. 21. Each priest to bring with him to the consistory a list of those among his parishioners who stand in need of correction and amendment. 22. A list also to be brought of those who have deceased in each parish, with a statement of their condition of life, age, and testamentary dispositions,¹ in order that provision may be made, if need be, for their last wishes being properly executed. 23. Whereas *obedience is better than sacrifice*, ecclesiastics refusing, without reasonable and manifest cause, to obey the lawful commands of their bishops, are to be suspended from their office. 24. Sentence of excommunication for various offences of greater or less heinousness. Among these are arson, poisoning, perjury, sacrilege, witchcraft, robbery, violence offered to parents or to ecclesiastical persons, assisting the Saracens against Christians, and, finally, falling away from the unity of the Church.²

On the death of William, Bishop of *St Andrews*, in September 1385, the choice of the canons fell on their prior, Stephen de Pay. The bishop-elect, however, while on his way to the papal Court, was taken prisoner by an English

¹ It was not until the lapse of nearly two centuries that similar registers were ordered (by the Provincial Council of 1552) to be kept of the baptisms and marriages in each parish. See *post*, p. 213.

² Robertson, *Statuta*, pp. 64-72.

Synodal
statutes
of St An-
drews.

See of St
Andrews.

vessel, and died at Alnwick on March 2, 1386. His successor was Walter Trail, who, according to Fordun, was *referendarius* to Clement VII., whose side he espoused during the papal schism. Bishop Trail exercised great influence in Scotland during the reign of Robert III., and did much to neutralise the power of the ambitious Albany. On account of his favouring the anti-Pope, Boniface IX. bestowed the see of St Andrews upon Archbishop Fitz-Alan of Canterbury—an appointment which the Scotch refused to acknowledge. On the death of Bishop Trail in 1401, Thomas Stewart, Archdeacon of St Andrews, a natural son of Robert II., was elected, but refused the dignity. Henry Wardlaw, precentor of Glasgow, was ultimately appointed to the see by Pope Benedict XIII. The king intrusted his son James, Earl of Carrick, to his care; and the young prince received an education befitting his rank in the castle of St Andrews.¹

One of the most prominent prelates in Scotland at this period was Walter Wardlaw, Bishop of *Glasgow*, who had been raised to the dignity of cardinal by the anti-Pope, Clement VII., in 1385. On his death, in 1387, a Franciscan named John Framysden was appointed to the see by

¹ The strength of the castle was doubtless a consideration with King Robert in selecting the place of his son's education. He might well tremble for his safety, remembering the tragic end of Rothesay, the heir to the crown.—TRANSLATOR.

Bishop Trail.

Bishop Wardlaw.

See of Glasgow.

Bishop Wardlaw.

Pope Urban VI. The Scotch, however, refused to recognise him, and Matthew of Glendoning, a canon of the cathedral, was chosen as Wardlaw's successor.¹

We have already spoken of the calamity which about this time overtook the town and cathedral of Elgin. Alexander, Bishop of Moray, was unfortunately on bad terms with Alexander, Earl of

Buchan, the wild and lawless brother of Robert III., known as the Wolf of Badenoch. The Earl, to gratify his malice, made a raid upon Elgin, and burned down the town and cathedral, described by the bishop, in a letter which he wrote to the king for redress, as the "chief boast of the land and glory of the kingdom." Buchan was excommunicated for this outrage, and had to do penance and make compensation before he received absolution.² The successor of Bishop Alexander was William of Spynie, who was consecrated at Avignon in 1397 by Benedict XIII. The see of Aberdeen about this time was filled by Gilbert de Greenlaw, who held for many years the office of chancellor of the kingdom. We must not omit to record the name of John Barbour, who was arch-deacon of Aberdeen during the episcopate of Greenlaw and his predecessor, and may justly be styled the father of Scottish literature.³ It would

Bishop Matthew.

Burning of Elgin.

See of Aberdeen.
Bishop Greenlaw.

Barbour.

¹ *Reg. Episc. Glasg.*, p. 293.

² *Regist. Episc. Morav.*, p. 360.

³ It would be incorrect, however, to speak of the poems of Barbour and other early Scottish poets as written in *Scottish*. They

See of
Galloway.

appear that the bishops of *Galloway* were still ecclesiastically subject to York, and in common with the English Episcopate, adhered to the rightful Pope. We find Bishop Oswald, in 1179, obtaining a safe-conduct from Richard, King of England, in connection with some business intrusted to him by Pope Urban VI. The see of *Man*, on the other hand, supported the anti-Pope, and Bishop Duncan, who succeeded William in 1374, was consecrated at Avignon on the 25th of November in that year. We unfortunately lose the best authority for the succession to the see by the abrupt termination of the Chronicle of *Man* in 1376. It is generally supposed, however, that on the death of Bishop Duncan in 1380, the diocese was divided into two sees, and that Robert Waldby, an Englishman, became Bishop of *Man*, while the Isles were assigned to a Scotchman named John.¹ Grub² considers that the diocese continued undivided, and that Robert, who became its bishop on the death of Duncan, was afterwards translated to Leinster, being succeeded by John in the see of *Man*. “It increases,” he adds, “the improbability of a separate see at this time, that the lords of the Isles,

Supposed
division of
the diocese
of *Man*.

themselves speak of the language as *Ynglis*, and it is generally admitted to have been merely a northern type of Anglo-Saxon.—TRANSLATOR.

¹ Walcott takes this view, and adds that the Scottish bishop of the Isles had a seat in Parliament in 1430.

² *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 360.

who ruled over what is called the Scottish part of the diocese, were in close alliance with the English sovereigns, by whom they were supported in their attempts to throw off the supremacy of the kings of Scotland." In 1383, William, Bishop ^{See of Orkney.} of Orkney, was murdered, but we have no record of the circumstances. His successor appears to have been named Henry.¹

¹ *Torfæus*, pp. 177, 178.

CHAPTER II.

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, UP TO THE ERECTION OF ST ANDREWS INTO A METROPOLITAN SEE.

(1400-1472.)

Regency of Albany. At the time of the death of King Robert III., in 1406, James, Earl of Carrick, the heir to the throne, was still a prisoner in England. The three estates of the realm assembled without delay at Perth, acknowledged James as their lawful king, and proceeded to nominate the Duke of Albany as Regent. In order to weaken the influence of England, and to hasten the release of their young sovereign, it was resolved to send ambassadors to France for the purpose of renewing the ancient alliance with that country. Sir Walter Stewart, and Lawder, Archdeacon of Lothian, were selected to lead the embassy, which proved completely successful. King Charles VI. of France, his brother Louis of Anjou, and the Duke of Berry, confirmed in three separate documents the ancient treaties with Scotland, which

Alliance with France.

found henceforth in France a steadfast and faithful ally against the encroachments of England ; and many circumstances combined to draw closer the bond of union between the two countries. Not only were the reigning houses of Scotland and France brought into near connection, but the spiritual relation between the French and Scottish Churches became more intimate than it had yet been. Fortunate as this alliance was in many respects for the northern kingdom, whose people were thus enabled to acquire a civilisation, culture, and refinement to which they had hitherto been strangers, it cannot be denied that from one point of view it was of questionable advantage to our country. Among the few European States which espoused the cause of the anti-Popes against that of the rightful Pontiffs, Scotland must unfortunately be reckoned ;¹ and there can be little doubt that her action in this matter is to be attributed to the influence of France. The party feeling continued unabated until the final settlement of the question by the Council of Constance in 1417 ; and we find that the censures pronounced by Pope Urban VI. against the supporters of the anti-Pope, Clement VII., were promulgated in Scotland. Theiner²

Scottish
support of
the anti-
Popes.

¹ France, Spain, and Savoy were the only other countries which supported the anti-Popes. The deplorable schism lasted for forty years, from 1378 until 1417, when three rival candidates for the Papacy were all deposed by the Council of Constance, and Martin V. (Colonna) elected in their room.—TRANSLATOR.

² *Monumenta*, p. 365.

gives a letter from the Pope to his nuncio in England and Scotland, directing that the moneys received by those appointed to preach against the anti-Pope (whom he styles “*iniquitatis alumnum*”) should be lodged with certain Luccese merchants in London.

Meanwhile the government of Scotland remained in the hands of the Regent Albany, who in his manner of conducting it consulted rather the promptings of his own ambition than the real interests of the country. The principal aim of his administration appeared to be to secure the release of his son, Murdoch Stewart, from his captivity in England, and at the same time, by a succession of intrigues, to prevent the return of his lawful sovereign, James I. Henry V. of England obliged his royal captive to accompany him in his expedition against France, and endeavoured to induce him to send back to their own country the seven thousand Scottish troops who, under the Earls of Buchan and Wigtown, were supporting the French arms. James, however, refused to comply with this demand; and the death of Henry V. shortly afterwards opened the way to his return to his own dominions.

Return of
James I. to
Scotland.

The Duke of Gloucester, who became regent of England during the minority of Henry VI., concluded a truce with Scotland, and arranged for the release of King James, on condition of the payment of forty thousand pounds to cover the

expenses of his long residence in England. The young king, before his departure, was united in marriage to Joanna, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, and immediately afterwards set out for his own kingdom. He passed the festival of Easter at Edinburgh, and thence proceeded to Sccone, where he was solemnly crowned and anointed, with his queen, on May 21, 1424. The rite was performed by his ancient tutor and faithful adherent, Wardlaw, Bishop of St Andrews; while to Murdoch, Duke of Albany, the late regent, fell the privilege of placing the king upon the throne.

However unjust in itself and calamitous to Scotland may have been the conduct of Henry IV., in detaining James for twenty years in captivity, it was to the Scottish monarch himself in many respects highly beneficial. He thus received an education in the English Court of which he would never have had the advantage in his northern home. Besides being thoroughly schooled in all chivalrous exercises, he studied under distinguished teachers the various arts and sciences. His residence in England was contemporary with the revival of letters, and particularly of poetry, in that country; and the fame of Chaucer and Gower kindled in the breast of the young Scottish prince a love for the poetic art, which was not extinguished amid the cares and burdens of his after-life. The knowledge which he acquired of

Effect of
his English
education.

jurisprudence and the art of government, combined as it was with an intellect naturally discerning and acute, was an excellent preparation for his high and difficult position. Nor can the changes at that time taking place in the state of the country have been, as Tytler has well pointed out, without effect upon his mind—"the repeated risings of the commons against the intolerable tyranny of the feudal nobility, and the increased wealth and consequence of the middle classes of the State; events which in the moral history of those times are of deep interest and importance, and of which the future monarch of Scotland was a personal observer."¹

James I. had thus during his long exile received a training which fitted him to take his place in future years among the best and ablest monarchs who have ever worn the Scottish crown. He deserves this position indeed, not less for his consistent protection of the interests of religion than for the great improvement in the condition of the country which took place during his reign. It was at the first Parliament held by James that we find the institution of the "Lords of the Articles"—certain members chosen from the three estates of the realm, who formed a kind of committee to decide on the measures to be introduced, and who afterwards played so important a part in the history of the country. The establishment of the Court

New institutions.

The "Lords of the Articles."

Court of Session.

¹ Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 50.

of Session, for the administration of justice to the whole of the king's subjects, also dates from this period. The new court, presided over by the chancellor of the kingdom and certain other persons deputed by the sovereign, was to sit three times in the year, at such places as the king should appoint. The day fixed for the first session was the 30th of September ; for the second, Monday in the first week of Lent ; and for the third, the vigil of St John the Baptist.¹

We notice in the reign of James I. the term The Gener-
al Council. "general council" first applied to the assembly of the three estates of the realm, as implying, possibly, a higher degree of solemnity and authority than the word parliament. "It is difficult, however," remarks Tytler,² "to understand the precise distinction, or to discover wherein this superior sanctity consists ; for in looking to its internal constitution, we find that the members who composed the General Council were exactly the same as those who sat in the Parliament ; the bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, and free tenants who held of the king *in capite*, and certain burgesses from every burgh in the kingdom." Evil-doers were punished with merciless severity, Severity of
James. and the hand of the king fell not less heavily on the nobles than on the common people. Albany,

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 11.

² *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 76.

the former regent, with his two sons Walter and Alexander, and his father-in-law the Earl of Lennox, were tried and found guilty of treason, and executed at Stirling. Alexander, the rebellious Lord of the Isles, was utterly defeated, and his mother, the Countess of Ross, was confined in the monastery of Inchcolm. James gave many

His interest in commerce.

proofs of his interest in the progress of trade and commerce. A deputation arrived in Scotland in the year 1425 from Flanders, to solicit the return to that country of the Scottish trade, which had been diverted to Middelburg, in Zealand, on account of hostilities committed by the Flemings against the Scotch. The king granted their request, taking the opportunity at the same time to secure extended privileges for the Scottish merchants trading in Flanders. In the course of the same year an embassy was despatched to Scotland by Charles VII., King of France, hard pressed at this time by the success of the English arms, in order to negotiate a marriage between Louis of Anjou, heir to the French throne, and the infant Princess Margaret of Scotland. Bishop Leighton of Aberdeen, Lawder, Archdeacon of Lothian, and Sir Patrick Ogilvie, were selected as ambassadors to convey to the French Court the consent of King James to the proposed alliance. The marriage was solemnised some years later with great magnificence at Tours. Isabella, the younger sister of Margaret, became the wife of

Marriage of Margaret of Scotland to Louis of Anjou.

Francis, Duke of Brittany, who afterwards murdered his brother.¹

It will readily be believed that in his zeal for ^{Zeal of} _{James I.} the welfare of his kingdom King James took the ^{for religion.} deepest interest in the progress of religion and the prosperity of the Church of Scotland. To two points especially he directed his attention. These were the suppression of heretical opinions, and the raising of the standard of priestly life among the ecclesiastics of the country. In the Parliament of 1425 it was directed that every bishop should make inquisition in his diocese as to the existence therein of Lollards or other heretics; and if any such were found, that they should be punished according to the laws of the Church, and, if necessary, with the assistance of the secular arm.² In a letter addressed on March 14, 1425, to the Superiors of the Benedictine and Augustinian Orders, the king laments the decay of religious discipline, and urges the religious communities to observe their rules with greater strictness, and to show themselves worthy of the munificence exhibited to them by his ancestors.³

¹ Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, vol. i. p. 182.

² *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 25, 26. "Proinde expurgisci vos convenit, et ad cor reducere, qualiter in regno nostro monasticæ religionis perfectio quam maxime remissa, prælatura ad exterminium tendit, ubilibet diffamata in opprobrium reducta. . . . Vestras religiosas paternitates in visceribus Jesu Christi exhortando, requirimus et monemus, quatenus excusationibus in peccatis et dilationibus quibuscumque semotis, ad reformationem hujusmodi vestræ sacræ

He exhorts them further, for the attainment of this end, to be punctual in assembling at proper times in their general chapters. On June 8 of the same year the king wrote to the Bishop of St Andrews, directing him to take measures for recovering to that see the possessions of which the cupidity and nepotism of his predecessors had deprived it.¹ The General Council of Basle assembled in 1431, and King James sent thither the following dignitaries as representatives of the Scottish Church: John Cameron, Bishop of Glasgow; John Crannoch, Bishop of Brechin; the Abbots of Melrose and Dundrennan; Donald Macnachtane and Nicholas of Atholl (dean and precentor of Dunkeld); and two others, probably friars, whose Christian names, John and David, alone have come down to us.²

Murder of James I.

In the midst of his plans of reform, and in the prime of life, James was struck down by the hand of an assassin. His severe and rigorous rule, and especially the merciless treatment dealt out to Albany and his sons, had sown deep the seeds of

religionis, nimium ut præmisimus collapsæ, loco et tempore congruis convenire studeatis."

¹ The tenor of these letters is hardly consistent with the saying, commonly attributed to James I., that his ancestor King David I. had been a "sore saint for the crown." The story is first told by John Mair a century after the king's death, and is mentioned only as a report. "Dixisse fertur, Maneas ille, Rex pientissime, sed reipublicæ Scotiæ et Regibus inutilis." The anecdote was not one likely to lose in Protestant hands. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 311.

² Robertson, *Statuta*, p. 248.

discontent among some of the nobility; and a conspiracy was formed against his life, headed by Sir Robert Graham and the Earl of Athole. James spent the Christmas of 1436 in the Dominican convent at Perth, where he remained for some weeks surrounded by a numerous and brilliant Court. At last, on the night of the 20th February, Graham found an opportunity of executing his bloody purpose. "Cruel tyrant!" he exclaimed, as he dealt the fatal blow, "never hadst thou compassion on thy kindred, therefore expect none now." James in vain besought for a confessor to prepare him for death. "None shalt thou have," replied the ruffian, "save this sword!" and so saying he plunged his sword repeatedly into the body of the devoted monarch, who was pierced with no less than sixteen wounds. James was buried in the beautiful church of the Carthusians at Perth, which he himself had founded.

Soon after the death of Robert III. preachers First appearance of Wyclifism in Scotland.
had made their appearance in various parts of Scotland, disseminating the erroneous doctrines of Wyclif, which had been already condemned at synods held in London in 1396 and 1401, and again at Oxford in 1408. John Resby, an English priest, was the most prominent figure in the movement, which, working for some time in secret and comparatively unnoticed, at length aroused the vigilance of the ecclesiastical authorities. Resby.

His arraignment.

Resby was seized and brought before a council of the clergy, under the presidency of Laurence of Lindores, a doctor of theology of great distinction. He was charged with having taught and upheld no less than forty erroneous propositions, of which Bower¹ specifies two—that the Pope *de facto* was not the Vicar of Christ, and that no one could be Pope, or Christ's Vicar, unless he were a man of personal sanctity. The new sect denied, in addition, the sacrament of penance and the necessity of confession. The overwhelming arguments adduced by Lindores² failed to wean the unhappy apostate from his errors; and he was finally, as an obdurate heretic, handed over to the secular tribunals, which, in accordance with the severity of the existing law, sentenced him to the flames. The sentence was carried out at Perth in 1407, the condemned books and writings being consumed in the same fire. The extermination, in its first beginnings, of this dangerous heresy was no doubt a matter of policy as well as religion with the Regent Albany. He was, it is true, according to Wyntoun,³ a zealous

¹ *Scotichronicon*, l. xv. c. 20. "Qui quidem . . . periculosisimas tamen conclusiones intersperserat in sua dogmatizatione. Quarum prima fuit quod Papa de facto non est Christi Vicarius. Secunda, nullus est Papa, nec Christi Vicarius, nisi sit sanctus."

² Tytler (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 37) allows that Lindores triumphantly refuted his opponent, but he has no words of condemnation for Resby's obstinacy in refusing to be convinced.—TRANSLATOR.

³ *Cronykil*, bk. ix. l. 2773—

" He wes a constant Catholyke;
All Lollard he hatyt and heretike."

His execution.

Catholic. But he was not a man likely to lose sight of what was due to his own position, and to State authority; and the tenets of Resby as to the necessity of personal spotlessness in the holders of high office were likely to prove dangerous if carried to their logical extent. As a matter of fact, his writings and pamphlets were secretly preserved by his adherents long after his death, and doubtless sowed the seeds of the religious and social revolution which was to burst over Scotland little more than a century later. We see from various sources that the spread of Lollard opinions in Scotland did not cease with the death of their first propagator. We find in the year 1416 all Masters of Arts in the newly founded University of St Andrews directed to take an oath to defend the Church against Lollards and their supporters; and nine years afterwards, a special Act against the Lollards was passed by the Scottish Parliament.¹

Not many years after the first appearance of the doctrines of Wyclif in Scotland, we find recorded the arrival of an emissary from the Hussite community of Bohemia, charged with the task of propagating their doctrines among the Scottish people. Paul Crawar, who was despatched by the citizens of Prague on this mission, was a physician by profession; and under the pretence of exercising his art he seized every

Spread of
heretical
teaching.

Paul
Crawar.

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 7.

His principal tenets.

opportunity of disseminating the heretical tenets of Huss. He was, like Resby, brought by Laurence of Lindores before the ecclesiastical court, where he defended himself with great ability. His skill in replying to the questions put to him and his wide acquaintance with the text of Scripture were admitted to be remarkable.¹ It soon transpired, however, that his system was merely an amplification of the Wyclifite errors, and that his profession of medicine was nothing but a cloak to conceal his real occupation as a teacher of heresy. Bower has recorded the principal heads of the doctrine of Crawar and his adherents. These were the indiscriminate reading of the Bible, the subjection of ecclesiastical authority to the civil power, and the right of lay tribunals to try and punish clerical offenders. They taught, moreover, that purgatory was a fable, pilgrimages an imposition, and the power of the keys, absolution from sins, and transubstantiation alike human inventions. Further, they are said to have denied the resurrection of the dead, to have preached community of goods, and to have led immoral and licentious lives.² They were also

¹ *Scotichron.*, l. xvi. c. 20. “Hic in sacris litteris et in allegatione Bibliæ promptus et exercitatus inveniebatur; sed ad insipientiam sibi, omnes quasi illos articulos erroneos Pragenses et Wiklienses pertinaciter tenebat.”

² Tytler (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 82) insinuates that the last three articles in Bower’s catalogue, which are naturally less creditable to Crawar as a pioneer of Protestantism than those preceding, are an invention of the historian. This is hardly candid,

accused of despising and rejecting the prescribed rites and ceremonial of divine worship, and of inventing a form of service of their own. Their Communion office commenced with the Lord's Prayer, followed by the reading of a passage from the New Testament descriptive of the Last Supper. All forms of consecration were abolished, and ordinary bread was used. Crawar proving obstinate in his errors, was pronounced an obdurate heretic, and being condemned to death, was burned at St Andrews, on July 23, 1433. Among his judges was the king's confessor, John of Fogo, Abbot of Melrose, who afterwards played an important part in withdrawing Scotland from allegiance to the anti-Pope. Boece¹ tells us that his zeal for the purity of the faith gained him high commendation from the king, who bestowed on him many gifts.

Religious worship of the sect.

Condemnation and death of Crawar.

It is a relief to turn from this gloomy picture to chronicle an event full of bright promise for the future, and which marks the beginning of the fifteenth century as an epoch in the intellectual history of Scotland. This event was the foundation of her first university. Aspiring Scottish youths had for some time past been accustomed to resort to foreign universities, in search of that higher education which was no longer afforded

Foundation of the first Scottish university.

as they rest upon precisely the same authority as the others.—
TRANSLATOR.

¹ *Scotorum Historia*, l. xvii. (ed. 1575).

them in the cathedral and monastic schools of their own country.¹ In order to obviate this necessity, Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St Andrews,² determined to found a university in his own cathedral city; which he accordingly did, in conjunction with his prior and chapter, soon after Pentecost in the year 1410. Among the names of the first professors we find that of Laurence of Lindores. Four masters were appointed to instruct in canon law: these were Richard Cornel, Archdeacon of Lothian; John Litstar, Canon of St Andrews; John Shevey, Official of St Andrews; and William Stevens, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane. The professors of philosophy were John Gill, William Fowlis, and William Crosier. For several years lectures continued to be given in the new institution, before its solemn confirmation by the Holy See. In 1414, however, application was made to Peter de Luna, then living at the castle of Penniskola in Arragon, and acknowledged by the Scottish Church as Benedict XIII.,

Confirmation by
Benedict
XIII. (anti-
Pope).

¹ A large number of Scotsmen (including Bishop Wardlaw himself) completed their philosophical studies at the University of Oxford, where, however, they appear to have been far from popular, partly on account of the side they espoused in the papal schism. In 1382, King Richard II. wrote to the authorities of the University, forbidding them to molest the Scotch students, notwithstanding their "damnable adherence" to the anti-Pope.—TRANSLATOR.

² Wyntoun thus speaks of this prelate (*Cronykil*, b. ix. cap. 23)—

“ Mastere Henry off Wardlaw
That like till vertue wes to draw . . .
A theologe solempne wes he,
Kend and knawyn of gret bownté.”

for his formal recognition of the university. On the day following the Feast of the Purification in that year, Henry Ogilvy arrived at St Andrews with the necessary bulls. These were read on the next day, being Sunday, before the assembled clergy, and were deposited in the archives of the university. A solemn service of thanksgiving followed, and the evening was devoted to festivity, bonfires in the streets, songs and dances, testifying to the joy and enthusiasm of the people. On the Tuesday a magnificent procession took place, in which four hundred of the clergy joined, besides those in minor orders and the novices. High Mass was solemnly sung by the Prior of St Andrews, and a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Ross. No distinct colleges had as yet been erected, and the professors and students found accommodation in various buildings within the city of St Andrews, the principal assemblies of the university being probably held in the monastery of the canons-regular.¹

During the period of which we have been treating, the meeting of several provincial councils is recorded in various years; but although these continued to assemble, ecclesiastical questions appear at this time to have been discussed and determined in Parliament; and the clergy exercised their legislative powers less in their cor-

Discussion
of eccllesi-
astical
questions
in Parlia-
ment.

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. xv. cap. 22.

Recognition by
Scotland of the
rightful
Pope.

porate capacity than as one of the three estates which together made up the General Council of the realm. We have an example of this in the Parliament which was summoned at Perth by the Regent Albany in 1418. The whole of Christendom had by this time acknowledged the title of Pope Martin V. (Otto Colonna), who had been elected to the Holy See at the Council of Constance ; and Scotland was the solitary adherent of the anti-Pope Benedict XIII. The Abbot of Pontigny was charged by the fathers of the Council with the task of prevailing upon the Scottish nation to submit to their rightful spiritual head ; and the Emperor Sigismund wrote to the Regent urging him to use his influence and authority for the attainment of this end. Benedict meanwhile used every means to induce Albany to remain faithful in the support of his claims, and was so far successful that Albany permitted an English Franciscan named Harding to plead the cause of the anti-Pope before the assembled clergy. Harding was opposed by the unanimous voice of the newly founded University of St Andrews ;¹ but relying

¹ “Contra eum tota Universitas insurgebat,” says the chronicler. It is singular to reflect that this was the same body which a few years before had sought the confirmation of the anti-Pope for their newly erected institute, and had received his bull of approbation with every token of joy and enthusiasm. It must be remembered, however, that the question of the rightful Pontiff, which was then an open one, had now been decided by a General Council of the Church ; and the action of the University was therefore a sign not

on the support of the Regent, he maintained his views with the utmost obstinacy, not scrupling, in his public declamations before the General Council, to distort the words of Holy Writ, and to deduce from them conclusions at once erroneous and scandalous. These, however, being sent to Rome for examination, were formally condemned, chiefly through the exertions of Abbot Fog of Melrose, who is described by Fordun as “magister in sacra pagina dignissimus.” Scotland thereupon renounced the cause of the anti-Pope, and declared her allegiance to Pope Martin V.

The Parliament which met in 1425 enacted, as we have already seen, that every bishop should provide for the searching out and due punishment of heretics and Lollards, and also ordered processions and special prayers for the welfare of the royal family.¹ Similarly, in 1427, a measure was adopted by Parliament for expediting civil processes before ecclesiastical courts, and was

Other eccl^{esiastical}
enactments
in Parlia-
ment.

of inconsistency or ingratitude, but of their loyalty to constituted authority. The act of adherence of the Faculty of Arts of St Andrews to Martin V. is cited by Robertson (*Statuta*, p. lxxix) from the *Acta Rectorum*, folio MS., in the library of the University.—TRANSLATOR.

¹ *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8. “Item, anentis heretikis and Lollardis, that ilk bischop sall ger inquyr be the inquisitione of heresy, quhar ony sik beis fundyne, ande at thai be punyst as lawe of Halykirke requires. . . . Item, it is ordanyt that ilk bischop gif bidding be his lettres patent till his clergy to mak processionyss and speciale prayeris for the welefare and the heleful estate of oure lorde the king and our lady the quen and thar barneytyme.”

ordered to be enacted by the Provincial Council. And in 1428 Parliament directed that inquiry should be made in each parish as to the prevalence of leprosy, and that those affected with the disease should, if laymen, be “denuncit” to the king ; if clerics, to their bishop.¹ It would seem that, as far as purely ecclesiastical questions were concerned, the express concurrence of the clergy was considered indispensable in order to give the enactments of the General Council the force of law. This is evident from more than one of the examples we have given, and it is not unreasonable to suppose, with Robertson, that it was the same with the rest. In the Parliament of 1426, indeed, an enactment seems to have been passed by the estate of the clergy only. This provided that every bishop should, in his next synod, order a special collect to be said by all the clergy for the prosperity of the king and queen, on pain of a certain pecuniary fine. A statute to this effect was to be made at the next ensuing Provincial Council.²

Provincial
Council at
Perth.

The first Provincial Council of which a formal record has been preserved, met in July 1420, in the Dominican Church at Perth, and was attended by six bishops, four abbots, the Prior of St Andrews, with a large number of deans, archdeacons, and other clergy, and the procurators of

¹ *Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. ii. p. 16.

² Robertson, *Statuta*, p. 272.

four bishops and eight abbots. After Mass, the invocation of the Holy Ghost, and a sermon to the clergy, the Bishop of Dunblane was elected Conservator, and the statutes and privileges were read. The main business of the Council was to declare the rights of the bishops to confirm wills, and to name executors in the case of persons dying intestate.¹ The elder members of the clergy present declared upon oath that this right had belonged to the Ordinaries from time immemorial ; and further, that they were entitled to sequestrate the property of the deceased until such time as their testaments received episcopal confirmation, and to require executors to take an oath to administer the property conscientiously, and to render an account thereof to the bishop. All this, they said, was notorious, and known to every one. It was, moreover, the custom to divide the property of the deceased into three portions, a third being given to the wife (supposing he were married), a third to the children, if any, and the remaining third for funeral expenses and prayers for the soul of the defunct. Twelve pence in the pound was to go to the Ordinary as a recompense for his trouble, and for the costs of the confirmation. These customs were declared

Declaration
of rights of
bishops as
to testa-
ments.

¹ Robertson, *Statuta*, p. lxxxi. Mr Robertson is hardly correct in stating that the bishops claimed the right of themselves administering the goods of persons dying intestate. The words of the original are, “ consueverunt decedentibus ab intestato dare executores.”—TRANSLATOR.

by the Council to be just and laudable, and were ordered to be observed. The seals of the six bishops present were appended to the decree.¹

Encroachment by Parliament on the privileges of the Church.

Another Provincial Council appears to have met in 1427, at the same time as Parliament was sitting at Perth. This Parliament, as we have already seen, passed a law for the expediting and abridgment of civil causes tried in the ecclesiastical courts, and ordered that it should be forthwith enacted by the Provincial Council.² Such a proceeding was not unnaturally considered as an encroachment on the rights and privileges of the Church, and a derogation to the authority of the Holy See. The chief promoter of the passing of the obnoxious statute was John Cameron, Bishop of Glasgow, a distinguished prelate and canonist, who had filled in rapid succession the posts of secretary to the king, keeper of the great seal, and chancellor of the kingdom, and had been sent by James I. on several occasions as his ambassador to England. Pope Martin V. now summoned him to Rome to answer for having instigated the passing of measures prejudicial to the liberties of the Church and to the authority of the Apostolic See. King James treated the charges brought against his chancellor as an imputation on himself, and forthwith sent to Rome an archdeacon

Action taken by the Holy See in consequence.

¹ Robertson, *Statuta*, pp. 77, 78.

² *Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. ii. p. 14.

and a bishop¹ to remonstrate with the Pope, excusing the non-appearance of Bishop Cameron on the ground of his important duties in Scotland. The plea was not accepted by the Holy See ; and William Croyser, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, and one of the Pope's immediate household, was despatched to Scotland as special nuncio, with orders to cite the chancellor before the Roman Court. Croyser served the citation, and immediately hurried back to Rome. He was, however, tried in his absence for rebellion and treason by a court of nobles, gentry, and burgesses, and deprived of all his benefices. Eugenius IV., who had meanwhile succeeded to the Papal See, and to whom the archdeacon appealed, annulled by a bull, dated May 8, 1435, all the proceedings taken against him by the king and Parliament, and pronounced severe censures on those who had taken part in them.² The bull was renewed in the following year, and its due execution was intrusted to Cardinals Nicholas of S. Croce, John of S. Peter *ad Vincula* and Dominic of S. Mary *in Via Lata*, and to the abbots of Kelso, Melrose, and Balmerino. Eugenius addressed, besides, a letter to the king, stigmatising certain of the Scottish bishops as “tyrants

¹ These were Archdeacon Lawder of Dunkeld and the Bishop of Brechin. The text of the Royal Commission appointing them is given by Robertson (*Statuta*, p. lxxxii), from an MS. in the Advocates' Library.

² Theiner, *Monumenta*, pp. 373-375.

rather than Christians, Pilates rather than prelates, and tortuous vipers," and urgently exhorting him to restore to the Archdeacon of Teviotdale the offices and benefices of which he had been deprived.¹

King James, it seems, was unwilling to proceed to a formal rupture with the Holy See; and at the moment when the tension was at its greatest he was wise enough to yield. The Bishop of Glasgow and the Abbot of Arbroath were despatched to Rome to request the Pope to send a legate to Scotland. The petition was granted after some delay; and in the summer of 1436 Antony of San Vito, Bishop of Urbino, set out for Scotland. The expenses of his journey, amounting to a thousand ducats, were advanced by the Scottish ambassadors, who received a papal brief empowering them to recover the sum from the Scottish clergy.² Furnished with a safe-conduct from Henry VI., dated November 22, 1436, the legate passed through England and arrived at Perth, where he was to meet the king and the clergy in Parliament. The day of the meeting, however, was postponed; and before it could take place the murder of King James³ threw everything into confusion. We hear no more of the mission of the legate; but towards

Despatch
of a papal
legate to
Scotland.

¹ Raynald, *Annal. Ecclesiast.*, ann. 1436.

² *Ibid.* Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 375.

³ *Chron. Jacobi I.*, pp. 15, 27, 29.

the close of the year 1439 is recorded the arrival in Scotland of Croyser as nuncio, with powers to absolve the Bishop of Glasgow—now no longer chancellor—from the censures which he had incurred.¹

The Court of James I. was visited by a papal envoy even more distinguished than the Bishop of Urbino. The learned and accomplished Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (afterwards raised to the papal throne as Pius II.) was sent to Scotland in 1435 by the Cardinal of Santa Croce, in order “to restore a certain prelate to the favour of the king.” We need not dwell here upon the incidents of his journey, the terrible storms he encountered at sea, and his subsequent adventures among the wild Border folk, all of which the envoy has himself described in graphic and vivid terms. It is sufficient to mention that the object of his embassy was successfully achieved, and that the king on his departure not only paid his expenses, but made him some handsome presents.² The alleged purpose of Aeneas’s journey to Scotland was in all probability a mere cover for political negotiations which were the

Aeneas
Piccolo-
mini in
Scotland.

¹ *Chron. Jacobi I.*, pp. 15, 27, 29. “Eodem anno Legatus Domini Eugenii Papæ in Scotiam intravit, paulo ante festum Natalis Domini, Episcopus videlicet Urbinatemis.” See also Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 375.

² Pii Secundi *Comment. Rerum Memorabil.*, pp. 4, 5. Pinturicchio has depicted the reception of Aeneas by James I. in the series of frescoes in the library of Siena Cathedral, illustrative of the life of Pius II.

Probable object of his mission. real object of his mission. It is not unlikely that his visit to Scotland was undertaken in the interest of the French king, who was desirous of a renewed alliance with Scotland, in order to checkmate the King of England, whom the defection of Burgundy had greatly irritated against France. With the purpose, doubtless, of escaping observation, only a single secretary accompanied the envoy.¹

Distin-
guished
prelates in
the reign of
James I.

Among the more distinguished of the bishops during the reign of James I. may be mentioned (besides Bishop Cameron of *Glasgow*) Robert Cardney, Bishop of *Dunkeld*; John Crennoch, Bishop of *Brechin*, who accompanied the Princess Margaret to France for her betrothal to Louis of Anjou; and William Stephen, Bishop of *Dunblane*, who was one of the first professors of the University of St Andrews, and was chosen Conservator of the Provincial Council held at Perth in 1420. Two successive Bishops of *Moray* received their consecration from the anti-Pope Benedict XIII.,—John de Innes at Avignon on January 23, 1407; and Henry de Lichton at Valencia on March 8, 1415. Bishop Finlay of *Argyle* had been Provincial of the Dominicans in Scotland, and had, in the year 1418, together with Griffin, Bishop of Rochester, been charged by the Holy See with the task of withdrawing

¹ Voigt, *Enea Silvio de Piccolomini und sein Zeitalter* (Berlin, 1856), p. 91.

Scotland from the anti-Pope.¹ He accompanied James Stewart, son of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, in his flight to Ireland in 1425. Pope Martin V., at the king's request, commissioned the Bishops of St Andrews and Dunblane to institute an inquiry into the unauthorised absence of Bishop Finlay from his diocese.² The result has not come down to us. It was probably about this time that the diocese of the Isles was divided. The Isle of Man had been subject to England since the middle of the fourteenth century, whereas the Hebrides had, as we have seen, been finally united to the Scottish Crown under James I. The English Bishops of Man were suffragans of Canterbury until the reign of Henry VIII., when they were annexed to the province of York. The Northern Isles now became, ecclesiastically as well as civilly, subject to Scotland; and the bishops of the new see after some time fixed their residence at Iona. They had, however, for many years no jurisdiction in Iona itself, whose abbots continued to yield obedience to the ancient primatial see of Dunkeld.³ It was not until the end of the fifteenth century that, at the

Division of
the diocese
of the Isles.

Iona an
episcopal
seat.

¹ Raynald, *Annal.*, ann. 1418. "Eadem vesania acti quidem Scotti, spreta Synodo Cœcumenica Constantiensi, Antipapæ adhærebant. Ad quos in sinum ecclesiae reducendos Griffinus Roffensis Episcopus et Finlanus Ordinis Prædicatorum theologus renuntiati fuerunt Apostolicæ Sedis internuntii."

² *Scotichron.*, l. xvi. c. 10. Rymer, *Fœdera*, x. p. 344. The brief is dated May 13, 1426.

³ Mylne, *Vitæ Episc. Dunkeld.*, p. 13. *Scotichron.*, l. xvi. c. 17.

request of James IV., Pope Alexander VI. united the see of the Isles and the abbacy of Iona, which were thenceforward held by the same individual.¹

Accession
and coronation
of James II.

James II. was a boy in his seventh year when he succeeded to his murdered father. As soon as the panic caused by the bloody deed had abated, a Parliament assembled in Edinburgh, to take measures for the regency of the kingdom, and arrange for the coronation of the youthful monarch. The neighbourhood of the Abbey of Sccone to the scene of the murder rendered it unsuitable, or even dangerous, for the performance of the solemn ceremony, which it was decided should take place in Edinburgh. James was accordingly conducted in state from the castle of Edinburgh to Holyrood by the principal nobles, clergy, and burgesses of the kingdom, and solemnly crowned and anointed on March 25, 1437. The custody of the young king and his sisters was intrusted to the queen-mother. The period of James's minority was one of great unsettlement for the country. The disaffection and violence of the nobles, already evidenced in the tragic end of James I., was not diminished by the loss of his firm hand at the helm of State, and the long minority of his successor. Their jealousy was aroused by the marriage of the queen to Sir James Stewart of Lorn.

² Innes, *Orig. Paroch. Scotiae*, vol. ii. p. 292. In the year 1498 James petitioned Alexander for the erection of the abbacy of Colmkill [Iona] in the "Bischoppis sete of the Ilis, quhil his principall Kirke in the Ile of Man be recoverit fra Ingismen."

Stewart was thrown into prison at Stirling, and the young king was removed from his mother's custody, and lodged in Edinburgh Castle. The history of this time is little more than a confused record of the ambitious schemes and constant Feuds of the nobility. feuds of the nobility.
 and Livingstone, and especially the formidable family of Douglas, which in wealth, power, and influence rivalled royalty itself. William, Earl of Douglas, with his brother David, were executed for high treason in 1440; and another earl, a few years later, perished by the king's own hand. Happily for his country, James II. developed as he grew towards manhood a character at once firm and prudent, and well fitted to cope with the difficulties of the times. He was fortunate in having by his side a wise and faithful adviser in James Bishop Kennedy, Bishop of *St Andrews*, and chancellor Kennedy. of the kingdom, a prelate distinguished alike by his birth, his learning, and his piety.¹ A sister's son of James I., he was thus nearly connected with the young king, and had received a training and education befitting his high rank. In 1438 he was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld; and two years later, on the death of Bishop Wardlaw, was elected to the see of St Andrews. The disordered and lawless condition of the country during the

¹ Tytler (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 138, 196) gives a lively picture of the virtues and noble qualities of this illustrious bishop. See *post*, p. 95.

long minority of the sovereign filled him with grief and anxiety. The dissipation of Church property, corruption in the highest offices of State, and the nomination of worthless dependants of the barons to the most important posts, were among the crying abuses of the time ; and no sooner was Kennedy appointed chancellor, thus uniting in his own person the highest ecclesiastical and civil authority, than his reforming hand was immediately felt. Irritated by his interference, a party of the nobles, headed by the Earl of Crawford, proceeded to plunder and lay waste, with every circumstance of atrocity, the lands belonging to the see of St Andrews. The Bishop replied to this outrage by a solemn and public excommunication of the Earl and his adherents.

Marriage of James II. King James married, in the year 1449, Mary, only daughter of the Duke of Gueldres. A fleet of eighteen vessels escorted to Scotland the royal bride, who was accompanied by the Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Brittany, and the Lord of Campvere (all brothers-in-law to the king), the Dukes of Burgundy and Savoy, and a brilliant retinue of knights and barons. James bound himself, in case of a male heir being born to the house of Gueldres, to renounce all claim to that dukedom ; and he settled upon the queen, in the event of her surviving him, a dowry of ten thousand crowns, secured upon certain lands in

Scotland. The marriage of the royal pair was solemnised in Holyrood in June 1449.

Fortified by the support and counsel of his faithful chancellor, James, soon after his marriage, took vigorous action to reduce to submission those among his nobles whose overgrown power had so long been a standing menace to the peace and security of the realm. The chiefs of the Livingstones were thrown into prison and their fortresses wrested from their possession; while the head of the great family of Douglas, who openly defied the royal authority, paid for his audacity with his life. His successor fled across the Border, and joined himself to the Duke of York, then at deadly feud with the house of Lancaster. James II., who had formed an alliance with Henry VI., advanced against the Yorkist party at the head of a large army, and laid siege to the Border fortress of Roxburgh. Here he met his death by the accidental bursting of one of his own cannon, in August 1460, when only in the thirtieth year of his age.

The king
and his
refractory
nobles.

Death of
James II.

On receiving the melancholy tidings of her husband's death, the queen-mother, Mary of Gueldres, immediately repaired to the camp before Roxburgh, bringing with her the infant king; and, forgetful of her own sorrows, urged the nobles to continue their efforts to secure that important fortress. Fired by her enthusiasm, they continued the assault, and the castle was taken by storm on

the same day. Immediately thereafter the young king was conducted to Kelso, and there crowned with the customary solemnities. During his minority the administration remained in the hands of the queen and of the faithful and experienced Kennedy. James III. had attained his sixteenth year when the imprisonment by the Earl of Orkney of the bishop of that see called forth a strong remonstrance from Christian, King of Denmark and Norway, and feudal superior of the Orkney and Shetland Isles. This incident led to correspondence between the two monarchs, and ultimately to proposals for an alliance between the young King of Scotland and Princess Margaret of Denmark. Ambassadors were commissioned to proceed to Denmark to conduct the necessary negotiations, the costs of the embassy being defrayed by a parliamentary vote of three thousand pounds, to be borne in equal portions by the nobility, clergy, and burgesses of the kingdom.¹

Cession of
Orkney and
Shetland
to Scot-
land.

The arrangements were successfully concluded, and the marriage treaty provided for what was in effect a cession of Orkney and Shetland to the Scottish Crown. The marriage was solemnised at Holyrood in 1469, with every circumstance of pomp and rejoicing.

Marriage
of the king.

The relations of the young king with his powerful and ambitious nobles were rendered doubly difficult owing to his natural disposition, which

¹ *Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. ii. p. 90.

showed neither the ability nor the firmness characteristic of his father's rule. James III. was deficient alike in the administrative prudence and close attention to the affairs of State which were absolutely necessary in his responsible position. The chronicles of his reign present little more than a continuous record of revolt and intrigue on the part of the great barons against a monarch who was unable to make himself respected or feared by his people. For some years, indeed, under the wise and enlightened rule of Kennedy, the kingdom enjoyed a period of comparative prosperity, to which the history of the latter portion of this reign offers a melancholy contrast. Unsettled state of the country.

The insurrectionary movements among the nobility, of which almost every country in Europe was at this time the theatre, and the universal weakening of the respect for hereditary monarchy, were not without their influence in Scotland ; and the culmination of James's misfortunes appeared to be reached when his brother, the Duke of Albany, who was already more than suspected of treasonable designs against the throne, openly renounced his allegiance to the Scottish Crown, and joined himself to Edward IV. of England. War was War with England.

on the point of breaking out between the two countries, and James was advancing in force to the frontier, when a papal nuncio appeared in the camp and forbade him as a Christian king, under pain of excommunication, to turn against a neigh-

bouring State that sword which should only be drawn in defence of Christendom against the Turk. While the King of Scotland, in obedience to his spiritual father, disbanded his army,¹ Edward, on the other hand, heedless of the papal remonstrance, not only carried fire and sword across the Border, but contrived to seduce many of the Scottish nobles from their wavering allegiance to their sovereign. These treacherous and unscrupulous barons, in order better to ensure the success of their schemes of ambition, did not hesitate to adopt the unnatural course of poisoning the mind of the heir-apparent, then a boy in his fifteenth year, against his father, and thus inducing him to unite himself to their side. They succeeded the more readily as the recent death of the queen-mother, Margaret of Denmark, had freed the young prince from the wise control under which he had hitherto been kept. Already estranged from his father by constant misrepresentations, and flattered by the adulation of the nobles, he was easily persuaded to place himself at the head of the insurgent army.

Revolt of
the heir-
apparent.

Efforts of
the Holy
See in the
cause of
peace.

Meanwhile King James had not been backward in appealing to the intervention of the Pope in defence of his sovereign rights. Sixtus IV. at his request addressed a brief in 1483 to the bishops and nobles of Scotland, in which he deplores the seditious conduct of certain of the king's subjects,

¹ *Acts of Parl. of Scott.*, vol. ii. p. 138.

and urges the duty of loyalty to their lawful monarch. Two years later the Bishop of Imola was charged by Pope Innocent VIII. with the task of reconciling the king and his nobility, and of bestowing upon James at the same time the gift of the Golden Rose.¹ Again, in 1488, the learned Adrian Castalesi of Corneto was despatched as nuncio to Scotland to mediate between the contending parties. On his arrival, however, he found that they had already come to terms, although the weak and humiliating concessions made by James on the field of Blackness to his rebellious subjects offered little hope of permanent peace. Hardly, indeed, had the too confiding monarch, on the strength of this agreement, disbanded his troops and loaded his principal supporters with rank and honours, than the insurgents resumed their schemes, and mustered in even larger numbers than before. James hastily reassembled his army, and the opposing forces met at Sauchieburn, only a mile from the famous field of Bannockburn. The king was supported by the Duke of Montrose, the Earls of Menteith and Glencairn, and other nobles who had remained loyal to his cause; while the insurgent lines were led by Lords Hailes and Gray, the main army being commanded by the young prince. Torn by the conflicting passions of his unnatural position, he is said to have given strict orders that the person

Battle of
Sauchie.

¹ Raynald, *Annal.*, ann. 1484. Theiner, *Monumenta*, pp. 496-499.

of his royal father should be held sacred. James, hard pressed by his enemies, was persuaded by the nobles who surrounded his person to take refuge in flight. As he galloped off the field, his horse suddenly swerved; the king was thrown from the saddle, and was carried, severely injured by the fall, into a neighbouring cottage, where he at once asked for the assistance of a confessor. A trooper of the insurgent army, disguising himself as a priest, obtained admission to the king's presence, and bending over the unfortunate monarch as if to hear his confession, stabbed him to the heart. Thus perished James III., a prince possessed of many good qualities, and unusually accomplished for the time; but between whom and his rude and illiterate barons there could be little sympathy, and whose natural indolence and love of retirement singularly unfitted him for his position in that age and country. James was only in his thirty-fifth year at the time of his death. By his marriage with Margaret of Denmark he left three sons: James, his successor on the throne; James, Marquis of Ormond, afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews; and John, Earl of Mar.

Murder of
James III.

Scotland
and the
Council of
Basle.

We must now revert to the Council of Basle, to which, as has been already seen, the zeal of James I. for religion had led him to send no less than eight representatives of the Scottish Church.¹

¹ See *ante*, p. 52.

As is well known, the Council found itself almost at the outset of its proceedings in difficulties with the newly elected Pope, Eugenius IV. Eugenius, by his bull *Inscrutabilis* of July 29, 1433, declared null and void all action taken by the Council apart from himself. The papal pronouncement, however, unfortunately failed to secure the adhesion of all parties. Among the recalcitrants were the members of the Convocation of Canterbury, who, in August 1433, declared against the Pope; and several of the Scottish representatives at the Council followed the same course. Prominent among these was Thomas, ^{Thomas of} Abbot of Dundrennan, ^{Dundren-}_{nan.} who was named, together with John of Segoria and Thomas of Corcelles, by the Council to arrange the preliminaries for the election of a new Pope in room of Eugenius, whom they pretended to depose.¹ With a zeal worthy of a better cause, Thomas matched himself against the Archbishop of Palermo, the Bishop of Burgos, and other redoubtable champions of the opposite party. Contemporary accounts speak highly of the eloquence and debating power of Abbot Thomas,² of whose previous career we know very little. He belonged to the family of Living-

¹ Aeneas Silv., *Comment. de Gestis Basiliens. Concilii* (Basil., 1551), p. 48. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, vi. p. 783.

² Aeneas Silv., *Comment. de Gestis Basiliens. Concilii*, p. 4. “Erat inter ipsos theologos et auctoritate et scientiae copia præcipuus Ebrunensis Episcopus . . . erat et Abbas quidam Scotus; qui tamquam acerrimi pugiles et in theatro pugnantes, adversarios quoslibet prosternebant.”

stone, just then rising to power in Scotland, and appears to have been born about 1388, and to have graduated as master of arts in the University of St Andrews in 1414. He entered the Cistercian Order, and became Abbot of Dundrennan at the early age of forty. Immediately after the election of the anti-Pope Felix V., in 1439, Thomas appears to have become aware of the ill-advised part he had played in the proceedings, and to have submitted to the orthodox Pontiff. In the following year we find him preferred to the bishopric of Dunkeld, on the translation of Kennedy, bishop of that see, to St Andrews. But the king refused to admit him to the temporalities of the diocese; and although he preserved the episcopal title, he seems never to have entered upon possession of the see, various rich benefices, however, being bestowed upon him in compensation. Amongst others he received from Pope Nicholas V. a grant of the church of Kirkinner. This was revoked by Calixtus III., but was restored by Pius II. at the request of King James II., to whom the abbot was confessor. In his old age, being nearly blind, he received a coadjutor in the abbey of Cupar, of which he was commendatory administrator. He died in the year 1460.¹

Excom-
munication
of the anti-
papal
party.

The majority of the Scottish clergy were far from approving the proceedings of their representatives at the Council of Basle. Eugenius IV.

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, pp. 401, 415-418, 426-429.

addressed in July 1440 a bull to Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews, in which he lays under excommunication the adherents of the anti-Pope in Scotland, and charges the bishop with the publication of the sentence.¹ The papal thunders were not without effect. Three years later a Parliament assembled at Stirling confirmed a decree of the Provincial Council formally repudiating Felix V., and acknowledging Eugenius IV. as Pope.² Severe penalties were at the same time decreed against abettors of the schism. Thus happily ended a dissension which for the second time in a century had miserably divided Christendom, and whose calamitous consequences in Scotland are vividly depicted by contemporary historians.³ Another Provincial Council was held in June 1445, of which we only know that the Bishop of Brechin was conservator.

We have seen that the Bishop of Urbino arrived in Scotland as papal legate in 1436, and was to have met the Parliament and clergy in general council at Perth in the following year, when the murder of James I. put an end to all negotiations. We have no further information as to the result of the legate's visit; but it appears

Adherence
of the
Scottish
Church
and Parlia-
ment to
Pope En-
genius IV.

¹ Raynald, *Annal.*, ann. 1440. The bull was renewed by Nicholas V. in 1447. Theiner, *Monumenta*, pp. 377, 378.

² The Parliament enacted that "ferme and fast obedience be kept till our Haly Fadir the Pape Eugene."—*Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. ii. p. 33.

³ *Scotichron.*, lib. xvi. c. 6.

that two years later Andrew Meldrum, a knight of St John, journeyed through England to Scotland on a mission connected with religious matters, and that a papal nuncio, Alfonso de Crucifubreis, was despatched at the same time to the Scottish Court. Nothing is known of the object of their mission, but it was not improbably connected with the desired suppression of heretical opinions, which, as has been already seen, had by that time made considerable progress in Scotland.

Claim of
the Crown
to the per-
sonality of
deceased
bishops.

In the middle of the fifteenth century we find recorded the final settlement of a question which had been a source of constant dispute between Church and State in Scotland. The Crown had for a long period been in the habit of claiming the personality, or movable property, of bishops upon their decease, whether they died intestate or not. The practice had been condemned by a bull of Pope Alexander IV., dated November 20, 1259,¹ but from the records of the Scottish Treasury, the prohibition seems to have been recalled by another bull in 1282.² As a matter of fact, we find that the right was frequently exercised during the following century. Edward I., as feudal lord of Scotland, granted permission to the Bishop of Glasgow to dispose of his movable property by

¹ Quoted by Robertson (*Statuta*, p. c) from an MS. in the Advocates' Library.

² *Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. i., App. to Preface, p. 2.

will on January 23, 1292. On January 8 of the same year he directed the goods and chattels of the deceased Bishop of Caithness, then in his (the king's) hands "according to the custom of Scotland," to be delivered to the Prior of Coldingham and the bishop's brother, and by them expended for the good of his soul.¹ King David II., with the consent of his Parliament, renounced all claim to episcopal property; and his act was confirmed by no less than three bulls issued by Pope Georgy XI.² For a time these proved effectual in suppressing the abuse, which, however, was again revived in the reign of Robert III. On May 4, 1403, we find that monarch granting to the Bishop of Aberdeen certain movables which had fallen to the Crown by the death of the Bishop of St Andrews—to wit, a piece of St Andrew's cross, some arras with the story of the Three Kings of Cologne thereupon, a painting of beasts and birds on linen, and a large breviary.³

The question appears now to have remained for some time in abeyance; nor was the character of

Papal con-
demnation
of this
supposed
right.

¹ *Rotuli Scot.*, vol. i. p. 7.

² Theiner, *Monumenta*, pp. 346, 353.

³ *Regist. Episc. Aberdon.*, p. 208. "Robertus Dei gratia Rex Scotorum . . . Sciatis quod concessimus reverendo in Christo Patri Gilberto episcopo Aberdonensi cancellario nostro unam Crucem argenteam in qua continetur quædam pars ligni Crucis beati Andreæ Apostoli, dus pannos, unum videlicet laneum de Arras de historia Oblationis Trium Regum de Colonia ad beatam Virginem, et alium linteum pannum pictum cum bestiis et volatilibus, et unum magnum Portiforium: Quæ fuerunt quondam Domini Walteri ultimi episcopi Sancti Andreæ."

The ques-
tion before
Parlia-
ment.

James I. one to encourage much hope of any voluntary concession from that monarch. No sooner, however, did his successor, James II., assume the reins of power, than the bishops at once brought their grievance before the Parliament in June 1445. Thirty-six persons were deputed by Parliament to hear the cause of the prelates, who were represented by six of their number and nine abbots; while six lords, four knights, and six burgesses appeared for the laity. The third bull issued by Gregory XI. was formally read, and a copy of it attested by the authority of the Conservator and the Clerk of the King's Rolls.¹ Nothing further was done in the matter until the Parliament of 1450. On 24th January of that year, the eight bishops of St Andrews, Dunkeld, Glasgow, Moray, Dunblane, Brechin, Ross, and Argyll knelt before the king in presence of the earls, barons, freeholders, and burgesses, and prayed him to redress the wrong done to the Church by the confiscation of the property of the bishops after their death. The petition, which had the powerful support of the young queen, the foundress of Trinity College and Hospital at Edinburgh, was granted by King James, and his consent was ratified by Parliament. A charter was drawn up under the great seal, giving every bishop full power of disposing of his movable property by will, but expressly reserving to the

Final re-nunciation
of the claim
by James
II. in Par-
liament.

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. pp. 544-547.

Crown the right to the real estate of the see during a vacancy, as well as to the presentation to benefices in the bishop's gift. The latter provision was confirmed by two successive Provincial Councils, which met at Perth in 1457 and 1459 ;¹ and three years later an Act of Parliament was passed, forbidding under severe penalties the infringement of what is described as an old and praiseworthy privilege enjoyed by the Crown from time immemorial. The commendable zeal with which the bishops defended their right to dispose of their personal property contrasts strangely with their facile compliance with those far more dangerous claims—claims which had no foundation whatever in ecclesiastical law, and were fraught with the most calamitous consequences to the Scottish Church.

In July 1465 another Provincial Council assembled at Perth, in which the Bishop of Dunblane renounced the great tithes of certain lands in Abernethy, in favour of the Abbey of Arbroath. The wording of the record seems to show that the Council was held annually, by indult of the Apostolic See.² The next Council, however, appears to have been held in 1470, when the Bishop of St Andrews, who had been chosen conservator, gave judgment between the Rector of the Uni-

Reserva-
tion of the
right to
real pro-
perty.

Provincial
Councils.

¹ Robertson (*Statuta*, p. 79) gives the text of the decree of the Council of 1459.

² "In Concilio Cleri ex antiqua et probata consuetudine et indulto Apostolico generaliter et annuatim tento."

versity of St Andrews and the Provost of St Salvator's College, with reference to the right of conferring degrees in arts and theology, which had been apparently bestowed upon the college by a bull of Pope Paul II. St Salvator's owed its existence to the enlightened munificence of Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews, who, amid his multifarious duties as chancellor and first bishop of the realm, was not unmindful of the cause of learning and science. The college was founded for the maintenance of a provost, who was to be a master of theology, a licentiate, and a bachelor of theology; four priests, masters of arts; and six poor scholars. The generosity of the bishop also provided for the endowment of chaplains of the collegiate church.¹ The new foundation was confirmed by Popes Nicholas V.² and Pius II.

Foundation
of St
Salvator's
College.

A still more important seat of education owed its existence about this period to Nicholas V., whom a historian of our time has justly entitled the greatest of the restorers of learning.³ Bishop Turnbull, who had been translated from Dunkeld to the see of Glasgow in 1447, early conceived the idea of the foundation of a second university in his episcopal city. The project was warmly ap-

¹ The church is the only portion of the collegiate buildings which still exists. It contains the tomb of the founder, a fine piece of fifteenth-century work, although now much mutilated.—TRANSLATOR.

² Theiner, *Monumenta*, pp. 383-385.

³ Macaulay, Rectorial Address to the University of Glasgow (*Speeches*, vol. ii. p. 263).

Foundation
of the Uni-
versity of
Glasgow.

proved by Pope Nicholas, and the new institution was formally erected by a papal bull dated December 26, 1450. Provision was made for the study of theology, civil and canon law, arts and other faculties.¹ The office of chancellor was to be held by the Bishop of Glasgow and his successors; and the same privileges were conferred upon the professors and students as were enjoyed by the papal university of Bologna. In 1453 King James II. granted a charter of protection to the university,² and in the same year the Bishop and chapter of Glasgow granted to all members of the institution similar privileges and exemptions to those possessed by the University of St Andrews. A few years later we find the grant of a house and land by James, Lord Hamilton, to the faculty of arts. It would appear, however, from contemporary writers, that even so late as 1521 the number of students frequenting the university was comparatively small.³

To the year 1472 belongs an event which forms an era in the history of the Scottish Church. Bishop Kennedy had been succeeded in the see of *St Andrews*, in 1466, by his half-brother, Patrick Graham, Bishop of Brechin. The nomination was obnoxious to a faction of the nobles, more especially to the family of Boyd, then powerful at the

Erection
of St An-
drews into
an arch-
bishopric
and metro-
politan see.

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, pp. 382, 383.

² *Regist. Episc. Glasg.*, vol. ii. pp. 385-388, 396-399.

³ Major, *De Gestis Scotorum*, p. 19.

Scottish Court ; and the bishop-elect thought it prudent to repair secretly to Rome, where he obtained confirmation of his translation to St Andrews from Pope Paul II. Fearing difficulties at home, Bishop Graham delayed his return to his see ; and new complications meanwhile arose owing to the revival by Neville, Archbishop of York, of the ancient claim of that see to supremacy and jurisdiction over the Scottish Church. Graham strenuously defended the independence of the National Church ; and so successfully did he plead his cause, that Sixtus IV. (the successor of Paul II.) issued a bull, dated August 27, 1472, in which the see of St Andrews was erected into an archbishopric, and metropolitan church for the whole of Scotland. The bull sets forth the inconvenience that has arisen in the famous kingdom of Scotland, with its many noble cathedral churches, from the absence of a metropolitan see, and consequent difficulties with regard to appeals from ordinaries, and other matters ; and proceeds to confer upon the see of St Andrews, as the most noted and venerable in the realm, the archiepiscopal and metropolitan dignity. The twelve sees of Glasgow, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, Brechin, Dunblane, Ross, Caithness, Galloway, Argyle, the Isles, and Orkney, are assigned to St Andrews as its suffragans. The bull further concedes the pallium and cross to the Archbishop of St Andrews, and to its cathedral chapter all the

Bull of
Pope Six-
tus IV.

Suffragan
sees.

rights and privileges enjoyed by metropolitan chapters.¹

Pope Sixtus notified the erection of the archbishopric in a letter to King James, and he wrote also to the Scottish bishops, and to their respective chapters, enjoining on them obedience to the new metropolitan.² In order to confirm and strengthen his authority, the Pope conferred upon the Archbishop the office of apostolic nuncio for three years,³ and for the fitting support of his dignity he added to the mensal benefices of the see the priory of Pittenweem, or the Isle of May, and seven parish churches.⁴ The exemption hitherto enjoyed by the abbeys of Kelso and Holyrood, and the collegiate churches of St Salvator at St Andrews and St Giles at Edinburgh, was at the same time withdrawn, and they were placed under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan.⁵

The papal bull, as we have seen, subjected to St Andrews not only the nine Scottish dioceses which had long acknowledged that see as holding a certain precedence over themselves, but three others which had hitherto been under the jurisdiction of foreign metropolitans, although civilly and politically united to the kingdom of Scotland. For more than five centuries the see of Galloway

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 465.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 467, 468.

³ According to Raynald (*Annal.*, ann. 1472), Graham was appointed nuncio with the special object of furthering a crusade against the Turks.—TRANSLATOR.

⁴ Theiner, *Monumenta*, pp. 468, 469.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

had been subject to York, while those of Orkney and the Isles had continued to form part of the province of Drontheim in Norway. The Archbishop of York, George Neville, brother of Warwick the "king-maker," was at this time in prison, on a charge of high treason. He protested against a measure which deprived him of a suffragan, but in vain. "An enemy," was the Pope's reply, "ought not to have metropolitan rights in Scotland." Forty years later, not long after the fatal day of Flodden, Henry VIII. of England asked of Pope Leo X. the restoration of the supremacy of York, but the appeal was unsuccessful.¹ The last that we hear of this long-vexed question is during the episcopate of Archbishop Lee, Wolsey's successor in the see of York. Drake² mentions that Archbishop Lee looked to a General Council for redress. We need hardly add that when the Council of Trent assembled, the time for such an appeal was past.

Opposition
of Dron-
theim.

While York thus lost her jurisdiction over Galloway in the south of Scotland, the bull of 1472 deprived Drontheim of two of her suffragans in the north. The Sudreys, or Hebrides, had, since the reign of James I., been actually, as they had long been nominally, united to the Scottish Crown, and had formed, since the separation of the diocese of the Isles into two portions, a purely

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 512.

² *Hist. and Antiquities of York*, bk. ii. ch. iii. p. 539.

Scottish see. There was therefore no reason for their continuing ecclesiastically subject to the metropolitan of Norway, who seems indeed, in this case, to have accepted the act of Pope Sixtus without protest. With the see of Orkney, <sup>The see of
Orkney.</sup> however, it was different. Only four years had passed since the marriage of James III. to Margaret of Denmark had practically united Orkney and Shetland to the Scottish kingdom ; and the people of these islands were still Norse in race and in tongue, and followed the laws and customs of Norway. The actual Bishop of Orkney had sworn fealty to the reigning King of Denmark, and his predecessor had assisted at the coronation of the King of Norway.¹ A see and a people thus circumstanced were not to be abandoned by the northern metropolitan without a struggle, and it was more than half a century before his claim was finally relinquished. In 1524, Olav Engelbertson, Archbishop of Drontheim, commissioned Wardenberg, Provost of Gustrova and apostolic scribe, then residing at Rome, to obtain copies from the papal archives of the bull of Pope Sixtus and other documents, and to advise him as to the best means of recovering the church of Orkney to his jurisdiction. Wardenberg's reply,² and the tran-

¹ Torfæus, *Orcades*, pp. 183-189, 195-197.

² "Judicium et informatio Zutpheldi Wardenbergi, præpositi Gustroviensis et scriptoris Apostolici, quid agendum sit ab Archiepiscopo Nidrosiensis in negotio recuperandi Ecclesiam Orcadensem, olim suffraganeam dictæ Sedis Archiepiscopalnis, sed nunc fraudu-

scripts of the various documents, were copied from the Norwegian archives by Professor Munch of Christiania, and reprinted in the Scottish Magazine of 1849. It would appear from these that the archbishop did not proceed in the matter beyond preliminaries. He found, doubtless, that an ecclesiastical arrangement which had lasted for upwards of fifty years was not easily disturbed ; and the first mutterings, besides, were beginning to be heard of the storm of revolution which was soon to sweep away the Norwegian Church with so many others.

Opposition
within the
kingdom.

The new dignity of St Andrews, however, was opposed with even greater warmth within Scotland itself. Neither the king nor the episcopate had been consulted in the matter, and both were equally vigorous in resisting it. The bishops especially, who had hitherto paid a merely nominal and temporary obedience to a conservator appointed by themselves, were far from welcoming the increased power and authority now conferred upon St Andrews.¹ Nor was their discontent allayed by the fact of the new archbishop's commission, as apostolic nuncio, to tax the tenth of their benefices for a new Crusade. The unfortunate prelate was assailed on every side, and the Scottish and

Accusa-
tions
brought

lenter (sicut allegatur) Archiepiscopis S. Andreæ subjectam." Gordon (*Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. p. 226 seq.) gives a translation of the bull of Pope Sixtus and the relative documents.

¹ Innes, *De Synod Vet. apud Scotos*, in Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. i. p. xxxi.

the Roman Courts alike rang with accusations and complaints against him. It is difficult, in the obscurity which involves the whole affair, and considering the evident animus of the Archbishop's accusers, to ascertain what foundation there was in the charges brought against him. All that is certainly known is, that on January 5, 1474, John Huseman, a priest of the archdiocese of Cologne, doctor of canon law, notary apostolic and provost of the collegiate church of St Patroclus at Soest, was sent by Pope Sixtus as nuncio to Scotland, in order to investigate the accusations made against Archbishop Graham.¹ Among these were disobedience to the commands of the Pope, saying Mass sometimes thrice a-day while under excommunication and interdict, assuming the title of Pope, and as such appointing nuncios and protonotaries, nominating to a vacant bishopric, and pretending to revoke certain papal indulgences on the ground that they had been granted for the sake of lucre.² The nuncio, after examining the archbishop and a large number of witnesses, sent a report of the proceedings to Rome. The evidence

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 478.

² The extraordinary nature of these charges seems to warrant the conjecture (for which, however, there is no direct evidence) that the archbishop's reason had given way under his troubles. Mr Grub (*Eccles. Hist.*, pp. 385, 386) seems to doubt whether heresy was one of the charges brought against him. The words of the bull of deposition are quite clear on the point: "Constat . . . *heresis et scismatis crimina diversimo de contraxisse*;" and again, "*præfatum Patricium hereticum, scismaticum*," &c.—Theiner, *ibid.*, pp. 480, 481.

His depriva-
tion and
degrada-
tion.

was referred by the Pope to three cardinals, with the result that the archbishop was found guilty of all the charges against him, and on January 9, 1478, was sentenced to be deprived of his dignities, degraded from his orders, and imprisoned for life in a monastery. He was first taken to Inchcolm, thence to the abbey of Dunfermline, and finally to the castle of Lochleven, where he died in 1478, and was buried in the ancient priory of St Serf. We have no record of the evidence on which the unhappy prelate was found guilty; but to accuse the Holy See, as certain historians have done, of condemning him solely on the representations of Archdeacon Sheves, his declared enemy, is incorrect.¹ The deposition of Sheves was certainly taken, and doubtless had its weight; but the Pope in the bull of deprivation expressly refers to the testimony of the king, the clergy and people, the chapter and University of St Andrews.² William Sheves succeeded Archbishop Graham in the see.

Bishop
Kennedy.

The most distinguished prelate by far during this period of our history—one of the most illustrious, indeed, that ever adorned the Scottish

¹ Spottiswood, *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 117, 118. Tytler, in his account of the proceedings, appears to have followed Spottiswood, whose unsupported testimony on such a point is certainly not above suspicion.—TRANSLATOR.

² Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 479. “Et quia tam Regis, quam Capituli, Cleri et populi, ac Universitatis prædictarum asserentium ejusdem Archiepiscopi insolentias, simonias, inquietationes atque molestias amplius æquanimiter ferre non posse.”

Church—was Bishop James Kennedy, of whom we have already spoken, and who was succeeded in the see of St Andrews by the unfortunate Archbishop Graham. Bishop Kennedy died on May 10, 1466, at a crisis when his eminent services could ill be spared to his country, distracted by the ambition and intrigues of the nobility. “In him,” remarks Tytler, in a passage which is a striking tribute from a Protestant historian to a Catholic bishop, “the country lost the only statesman who possessed sufficient firmness, ability, and integrity to direct the councils of government. He was indeed, in every respect, a remarkable man ; a pious and conscientious churchman, munificent, active, and discriminating in his charity ; and whose religion, untinged with bigotry or superstition, was pure and practical. His zeal for the interests of literature and science was another prominent and admirable feature in his character, of which he left a noble monument in St Salvator’s College at St Andrews, founded by him in 1456, and richly endowed out of his ecclesiastical revenues. . . . Although in his public works, in his endowments of churches, and in everything connected with the pomp and ceremonial of the Catholic faith, he was unusually magnificent, yet in his own person, and the expenditure of his private household, he exhibited a rare union of purity, decorum, and frugality ; nor could the sternest judges breathe a single aspersion against

either his integrity as a minister of State, or his private character as a minister of religion.”¹

Abuses
during the
reign of
James III.

Notwithstanding the public and private virtues of Bishop Kennedy, it cannot be said that the reign of James III. was, on the whole, beneficial to the Scottish Church. We find during this period the cathedral and monastic chapters systematically deprived of their canonical rights of election, and the intrusion, through the influence of the nobles, of utterly incompetent persons into the most important offices. The pernicious system of commendatory abbots, which had proved so disastrous to the Church of Scotland in past ages, was again revived; and laymen, often mere boys, were appointed to positions for which they were of course entirely unfit.² A source of still greater evils to the Church, as we have already pointed out, was the decree passed by the Provincial Council in 1457, and renewed two years later, which confirmed to the Crown the unconditional right of presenting to benefices during the vacancy of an episcopal see. It was not

¹ *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 196.

² A flagrant example of this was the annulment, about the year 1472, by James III. of the election to the abbacy of Dunfermline. “In demortui Fermidulensis abbatis locum Henricus Chrichtonus regis auctoritate substitutus, exemplo pessimo cœnobiarcharum electionem a monachorum suffragiis ad aulæ atque auræ favorem translulit.”—Conæus, *De duplice statu religionis apud Scotos* (Rome, 1628). See also Leslie, *Hist. of Scotland* (ed. 1675), p. 304. Chrichton was Abbot of Paisley. The monks had elected Alexander Thomson, one of their own number.—TRANSLATOR.

until the following century that the Scottish Church realised the full magnitude of the evil that had been wrought by this imprudent concession.

Among the numerous religious foundations during the period of which we have been treating, one of the most important was the Carthusian monastery at Perth, founded by James I. in 1429. The first prior was Oswald de Corda, whose learning and piety are highly commended by Bower.¹ Most of the other religious houses founded at this time belonged to the Franciscan Order, which had just been kindled to new fervour under the influence of St Bernardine of Sienna. The learned and saintly Cornelius of Zieriksee came to Scotland with six of his fathers, at the invitation of James I. He declined at first to take possession of the beautiful church built by the king for the new community at Edinburgh, as being more magnificent than was compatible with the poverty of his Order; and it was only by the intervention of Pope Pius II., at the king's request, that he was at length induced to accept it.² A convent of Franciscan Observants was founded at St Andrews in 1458 by Bishop Kennedy, and another at Perth, about the same date, by Lord Oliphant. The superior of the latter house was Father Jerome Lindsay (of the Earls of Crawford), who

Religious foundations.

¹ *Scotichron.*, I. xvi. c. 18.

² Gaudentius, *Bedeutung und Verdienste der Franziskanerordens* (Bozen, 1880), p. 135. This church perished by fire on January 19, 1845.—TRANSLATOR.

was a doctor of canon and civil law of the University of Paris, and had been admitted into the Order by Father Cornelius at Cologne. In 1480 a Franciscan house was founded in Aberdeen by Thomas Spence, bishop of that see, and Bishop Laing also founded one in Glasgow in 1472. The inhabitants of Ayr founded a convent of the same Order in that town about 1474; while they were established in Elgin a few years later by John Innes, who had been struck by the edifying life and salutary influence of the Franciscans of Aberdeen.¹

Proposed
canonisa-
tion of
Queen
Margaret.

Before passing from the reign of King James III., mention must be made of his pious queen, Margaret, daughter of Christian, King of Denmark—a princess whose many virtues had greatly endeared her to all classes of the Scottish people. Shortly after her death recourse was had to Pope Innocent VIII. by the king and principal nobles, with the object of obtaining her formal canonisation. On June 10, 1487, the Pope addressed a letter to the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Bishop of Glasgow, the Bishop-elect of Aberdeen, and the Abbot of Holyrood, asking a number of questions relative to the introduction of the process of beatification of the deceased queen.² No record, however, of any further proceedings has come down to us.

¹ Gaudentius, *Bedeutung und Verdienste der Franziskanerordens*, pp. 136-139.

² Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 499.

CHAPTER III.

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH UNDER JAMES IV. (1488-1513), AND DURING THE MINORITY OF JAMES V. (1513-1524).

JAMES IV. was only in his seventeenth year at ^{Accession of James} IV. the time of his father's death. There is no proof that he had been the instigator of the rebellion against that unfortunate monarch, but it would be equally untrue to assert that he was a perfectly passive instrument in the hands of the conspirators. There is abundant evidence to show that he was deceived and led astray by the misrepresentations and flattery of the leaders of the insurrection. "He was dazzled," remarks Tytler, "by the near prospect of a throne; and his mind, which was one of great energy and ambition, co-operated without much persuasion in their unworthy designs. After some time, indeed, the remonstrances of a few faithful adherents of his father awakened in him a violent fit of remorse, but his first accession to the throne does not appear to have been embit-

tered by any feelings of this nature ; and the voice of self-reproach was drowned for the time in the applauses of a flagitious but successful faction.”¹

Immediately after the interment of the late king in the abbey of Cambuskenneth, the Court proceeded to Scone for the coronation of James IV., which was followed by the distribution of the various offices of State. In order to strengthen the good understanding which now prevailed with the neighbouring kingdom, a marriage was arranged between the young monarch and Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England. A papal dispensation was obtained (the parties being related within the prohibited degrees), and the marriage was solemnised at Holyrood, in 1503, by the Archbishop of St Andrews.² The king now applied himself with much zeal and energy to the affairs of State. He especially directed his attention to the state of the Highlands, aiming particularly at the dispersion and weakening of the clans, and the attachment of their leaders to himself by the bestowal of gifts and honours. A regular correspondence was established with the farthest parts of these re-

His mar-
riage.

Improve-
ment of
the High-
lands.

¹ *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 245.

² By what was regarded as a more than suspicious coincidence, the Lady Margaret Drummond, whose intimate relations with the young king were well known, perished, it was supposed by poison, together with her two sisters, in the midst of the preparations for the royal nuptials.

mote districts, and their inhabitants became gradually accustomed to habits of industry and a respect for the law, to which they had previously been strangers. James further succeeded, by the affability of his manners and his love of social pleasures, which were in strong contrast to the character of his predecessor, in attracting to himself in a remarkable degree the affections both of nobles and people.

The accession of Henry VIII. to the throne of England in 1509 did not tend to improve the relations between that country and Scotland. The assistance given by Henry to the Duchess of Savoy against the Duke of Gueldres, the near relative of the Scottish king, the capture and plundering of a French vessel by English cruisers off the Scottish coast, and the refusal of Henry to hand to his sister, the Queen of Scotland, certain valuable jewels left to her by her father, were among the incidents that widened the breach between the two countries. In the year 1512, an envoy from Pope Julius II. came to Scotland, with the object of withdrawing James from his alliance with the French nation, against which England and the papal Court were leagued. James, however, resolutely refused to desert his ancient ally. He despatched his uncle, the Duke of Albany, on an embassy to the German Court, to ask the mediation of the emperor between France and the Pope, and he also sent the

Bishop of Moray to France on the same pacific mission.¹ At the same time, he made every preparation within his own kingdom for the threatened outbreak of hostilities; and in the following year, although against the advice of the oldest and wisest of his councillors, he despatched an embassy to England with a declaration of war. We need not dwell on the disastrous consequences of this step. In the fatal fight of Flodden, fought on September 9, 1513, the king himself was slain, together with his natural son, the Archbishop-elect of St Andrews, and the flower of the Scottish nobility. Among those who fell were no less than thirteen earls, the Bishops of Caithness and the Isles, the Abbots of Inchaffray and Kilwinning, and the Dean of Glasgow. The king's body was with difficulty recovered from the heaps of slain amid which it lay, so disfigured by wounds as to be almost unrecognisable. Such was the dismay of his people at the news of his death, and such their affection for his person, that they long refused credence to the fatal tidings; and the report was spread through the country that the king had gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, whence he would before long return to claim the crown. James was in his forty-second year when he fell at Flodden.

Death of
James IV.
at Flodden.

His character.

Varying accounts have been given of his character, which was, in truth, made up of widely

¹ *Epist. Reg. Scotiae*, i. 126-128.

differing elements. His firmness in the administration of justice and zealous attention to the affairs of State, the measures which he promoted for the amelioration of the Highlands, and his lively interest in the development of the commerce and industries of the country, have earned the warmest commendations. At the same time, his extravagant love of pleasure and amusement, and the notorious dissoluteness of his private life, formed a serious blot on his character, and offered an example that could not fail to be prejudicial to the morals of his people.

The infant King James V., who now succeeded to the throne, was crowned at Scone with the usual solemnities. The fifteen years which elapsed before he took the reins of government into his own hands were a period pregnant with evils to the country. The regency, up to the year 1528, remained in the hands of the Duke of Albany, the heir-presumptive to the throne. In May 1517, we find the regent writing to Pope Leo X., to convey the filial homage of the young king to that Pontiff, whom he styles the true Vicar of Christ and Catholic successor of blessed Peter.¹ A few months later he addressed another letter to the Pope, praying for the confirmation, during the minority of the king, of the privilege whereby the nomination to vacant benefices exceeding two

Coronation
of James V.

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 520. "Te verum Christi Vicarium, beati Petri catholicum successorem adorabit et venerabitur."

hundred ducats in annual value, was reserved to the Crown.¹ In 1524 Albany left the country, and the government passed into the hands of the Earls of Arran and Angus, who were in secret alliance with Henry VIII. of England. King James, then a boy in his twelfth year, was suddenly, with the consent of the queen-mother, declared of full age, while the real power remained in the hands of the English faction. The Bishops of St Andrews and Aberdeen, who had strongly opposed the assumption of supreme authority by a mere child, were thrown into prison. On October 5, 1524, the king wrote to Pope Clement VII., announcing that he had assumed the government,² and three weeks later he wrote again, informing his Holiness that Albany had been relieved of the regency.³ Pope Clement replied in a letter dated November 29, offering his congratulations to the young king, expressing his joy at the friendly relations existing between England and Scotland, and exhorting James to uprightness and moderation in his dealings with friends and foes.⁴

*Degeneracy
of the Scot-
tish nobles.* The records of this period present us with a striking and painful picture of the disloyal, selfish, and mercenary spirit which largely pervaded the Scottish aristocracy. When Albany, in the year 1523, determined to take the offensive against England, the nobility of the country, so

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 523.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 546.

² *Ibid.*, p. 542.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 547.

far from giving him a chivalrous support, behaved with a treachery and pusillanimity as despicable as it was surprising. Their leading members were, in fact, in the pay of England; and the queen-mother herself was only induced to remain in Scotland by means of ample bribes and promises still more ample. "To such a degree of organisation," says Tytler,¹ "had the system of bribery and private information been carried, that whilst the Duke of Norfolk maintained his spies even in the palace of the king, the original correspondence of the period presents us with the exact pensions allowed to the Scottish adherents of the English Court, from the queen and Arran to the lowest agent of this venal association." Under such circumstances we cannot wonder that order and authority were weakened throughout the realm. The country was in fact distracted by three great parties: that of Albany, supported by France and led by the able and energetic Chancellor Beaton; that of Arran and the queen-mother, in whom was vested the guardianship of the young king and the actual government of the kingdom; and lastly, the faction of the Earl of Angus, who had sold himself to England. The character of the queen-mother, who in many respects bore a singular resemblance to her brother Henry VIII., was not one calculated to make the most favourable impression on the people of Scot-

The queen-mother.

¹ *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 330.

land. Immediately after the birth of her second son, Alexander, in 1514, she bestowed her hand, with a haste that could hardly be considered decorous, on the young Earl of Angus. Ten years later, in 1524, we find her affections transferred to Henry Stuart, second son of Lord Evandale. Her love for her husband had turned to hatred, and all efforts made to reconcile her to him were unavailing. Angus, on his side, whose only aim was to possess himself of the large estates of the queen, renounced all desire of a reconciliation with her as soon as he found that the Council of State would not sanction his designs. A process of divorce was commenced in the ecclesiastical courts, and a decree of nullity of marriage was pronounced on March 11, 1527, by the Cardinal Bishop of Ancona, on the ground of a pre-contract of marriage on the part of Angus.¹ The queen-mother at once contracted a marriage with Henry Stuart, without asking the consent either of the king or the Council of State. Irritated at this proceeding, the lords of the Council despatched a military force to Stirling Castle, the residence of the queen and her husband. Stuart was forcibly removed, and was sentenced to a term of imprisonment as a punishment for his presumption.

¹ The process was a costly one, as we learn from a letter to Albany (preserved in the archives at Paris), informing him that the queen's agents in Rome "pingues expectant propinas, ita quod omnes non possunt contentari cum 600 ducatibus."—TRANSLATOR.

For several years the distracted country groaned under the tyrannous sway of the house of Douglas, which had risen to more than its ancient power and influence, and spread anarchy and disorder throughout the land. “Murder, spoliations, and crimes of various enormity,” says Tytler,¹ “were committed with impunity. The arm of the law, paralysed by the power of an unprincipled faction, did not dare to arrest the guilty; the sources of justice were corrupted, and ecclesiastical dignities of high and sacred character became the prey of daring intruders, or were openly sold to the highest bidders.” It was not until the year 1528 that the king was enabled, with the assistance of Beaton his faithful ex-chancellor, to shake off the oppressive yoke of the Douglases. By a well-planned stratagem he escaped from their guardianship and repaired to Stirling, whence he issued a proclamation forbidding any member or follower of the house of Douglas to approach within six miles of the Court. Henceforth James was in reality what he had hitherto been only in name—the supreme head of the realm.

The ecclesiastical records of this period present us with a not over-edifying picture of the contests with regard to precedence which followed the erection of the archbishopric of St Andrews, and the prominent part taken by the higher

¹ *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 338.

clergy of the Scottish Church in the political convulsions which were agitating all classes of the people. We have already seen that William Sheves, who had been Archbishop Graham's coadjutor in the see of St Andrews, and had been one of the most bitter opponents of that unfortunate prelate, succeeded him in the archbishopric. It was not long before he received from Rome even greater privileges than had been granted to his predecessor. The action of Bishop Spence of Aberdeen, who had obtained in 1473 a brief from Sixtus IV., exempting him during his lifetime from the jurisdiction of St Andrews,¹ doubtless urged Sheves to take steps to have his rights fully confirmed by the Holy See. Accordingly, on March 27, 1487, he obtained a bull from Innocent VIII. bestowing on him the dignity of primate of all Scotland and *legatus natus*, with the same privileges as those enjoyed by the Archbishops of Canterbury.²

Scarcely was the bull of Pope Innocent published, than a vigorous protest was raised by the

Protest of
Glasgow.

¹ Theiner (*Monumenta*, p. 473) gives the text of the papal brief, of which there is no mention in the *Regist. Episc. Aberd.* The exemption in question ceased, of course, with the death of Bishop Spence in 1480.—TRANSLATOR.

² The bull is quoted by Robertson (*Statuta*, p. cxviii) from the *Lib. Georgii Makeson notarii publici in archivio Romane Curie matriculati*. Archbishop Sheves commemorated his new dignities by a medal struck in Flanders, bearing the circumscription, WILHELMVS • SCHEVEZ • SANCTI • ANDREE • ARCHIEPISCOPVS • LEGATVS • NATVS • ET • TOTIVS • SCOTIÆ • PRIMAS • (Robertson, p. cxix).

New privi-
leges to the
see of St
Andrews.

see of Glasgow, supported by the Scottish Parliament, against the new pre-eminence granted to St Andrews. Glasgow, the “mother of many races,” as William the Lion had styled her three centuries before,¹ had claimed from time immemorial the honourable title of Daughter of the Roman Church.² Successive Pontiffs had taken her under their especial protection, and it was her boast to have ever been directly and immediately subject to the Apostolic See. Such was her renown, that a Scottish king—James IV.—had deemed it an honour to be numbered among her canons.³

On May 25, 1488, Innocent VIII., in consideration of the illustrious past of this venerable see, granted to her the same privilege that Sixtus IV. had conceded to Bishop Spence of Aberdeen—namely, exemption from the jurisdiction of the Primate during the lifetime of the then bishop.⁴ Glasgow, however, was far from being satisfied with this concession, and the matter was taken in hand by Parliament, doubtless at the instance of the royal canon. On January 14, 1489, a law was passed which set forth that the honour and welfare of the realm demanded the erection of Glasgow into an archbishopric, with the same

¹ So styled (“mater multarum gentium”) in a charter dated about 1190.

² See *ante*, vol. i. p. 319.

³ *Reg. Episc. Glasg.*, vol. ii. pp. 465, 482.

⁴ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 502.

privileges as those enjoyed by York.¹ Stringent penalties were enacted on all who should oppose the scheme. The Chancellor wrote to inform the Pope of the passing of the law; and King James besieged the Holy See with repeated petitions for the desired erection, expressing in strong terms his astonishment at the Pope's delay in complying with his request.

Erection of archbishopric of Glasgow. Innocent at length yielded, and by a bull dated January 9, 1492, raised Glasgow to the dignity of an archbishopric, with Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyle for its suffragan sees. The cross was granted to the new archbishop, but not the use of the pall, or the dignity of primate and *legatus natus*. Glasgow, however, and its suffragan sees, during the lives of the present occupant, were to enjoy exemption from the primatial and legatine authority of St Andrews.² This compromise, unfortunately, proved satisfactory to neither of the rival prelates, and the strife broke out afresh. At length the Parliament actively interfered, and on January 26, 1493, enacted that the archbishops should lay the matter before the Holy See, to whom the king would communicate the judgment of the estates of the realm; and that the prelates should rest content with the decision thus obtained, on pain of confiscation of their revenues.³

¹ *Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. ii. p. 213.

² Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 506.

³ *Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. ii. p. 232.

For a time the contest ceased. The king endeavoured to obtain for the Archbishop of Glasgow the dignity of cardinal; but although his request was supported by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, it was not granted by the Pope.

A Provincial Council appears to have been held at St Andrews in 1487, under Archbishop Sheves,¹ but all record of its proceedings is lost. The statement of Leslie² that the archbishop was compelled by the king and the Duke of Albany to resign the primatial see, retaining only that of Moray, which he held *in commendam*, is not corroborated by contemporary evidence. It would appear that he died in St Andrews, in January 1497, and was buried before the high altar of the cathedral. Sheves left behind him a high reputation for his skill in science. Dempster states that “he had made such progress in astrology, theology, and medicine, that he had scarcely his equal in France or Britain.”

In the year 1494 we hear of fresh proceedings against the Lollards. The deaneries of Kyle and Cunningham, in the archdiocese of Glasgow, appear to have been the scene of their teaching. Thirty persons, including several women, were

¹ The only authority for this is an entry in the chartulary of St Andrews—viz., a copy of a summons to the Abbot of Arbroath to be present at the council.—TRANSLATOR.

² *Hist. of Scotland* (edit. cit.), p. 311. Spottiswood (*Hist.*, vol. i. p. 119) mentions this incident, which, however, he does not seem to believe.—TRANSLATOR.

summoned by Archbishop Blackadder to answer before the king for the heretical tenets which they held and taught. Among them were Adam Reid of Barskimming, George Campbell of Cessnock, John Campbell of Newmilns, and Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet. Adam Reid was the spokesman of the accused, and seems to have defended the doctrines of himself and his companions with considerable skill. Their chief tenets were: That images and reliques are not to be kept or venerated; that it is unlawful to fight in defence of the faith; that Christ gave the power of binding and loosing to St Peter alone, and not to his successors; that Christ ordained no priests to consecrate; that after the consecration in the Mass there remains bread, and that Christ's natural body is not there; that tithes ought not to be paid to ecclesiastics; that Christ at His coming abrogated the power of secular princes;¹ that every faithful man or woman is a priest; that the Pope deceives the people with his bulls and indulgences; that the Mass profits not the souls in purgatory; that the bishop's blessing is of no value; that the excommunication of the Church is not to be feared; that in no case is it lawful to swear; that priests may marry, as under the old law; that true Christians receive Christ's

¹ This article, which lay at the very root of the Lollard and other heresies, is rather significantly omitted by Mr Grub (*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 390).—TRANSLATOR.

body daily ; that prayers should not be addressed to the Blessed Virgin, but only to God ; that prayers are of no more value in church than out of it ; and that the Pope is the head of the Church of Antichrist. It will be seen that these tenets are in the main identical with those held by the propagators of the Hussite and Wyclifite heresies. For some unexplained reason, the accused parties were dismissed without punishment, being merely admonished to take heed of novel doctrines, and to content themselves with the faith of the Church.

Among the distinguished prelates of this period must be mentioned Thomas Lauder, Bishop of ^{Bishop Lauder} _{(Dunkeld).} Dunkeld, who was noted for his personal piety and the wisdom and vigour of his episcopal administration. Mylne¹ tells us that in 1457 he held the diocesan synod in his cathedral for the first time, former assemblies, on account of the proximity of Dunkeld to the wild Highland clans, having been held in the Carmelite convent of Tullilum, near Perth. Bishop Lauder died in November 1476, and was succeeded by James Livingstone, Dean of Dunkeld, who for some time held the office of chancellor of the kingdom.

Archbishop Sheves died early in 1497, and early in the same year James, Duke of Ross, brother to King James IV., was raised to the primatial see of *St Andrews*. He is styled in ^{See of St Andrews:} _{James, Duke of Ross.}

¹ *Vitæ Episc. Dunkeld.*, pp. 8, 21-26.

official documents “James, Archbishop of St Andrews, Duke of Ross, Marquess of Ormond, Earl of Ardménach, Lord of Brechin and Nevar, perpetual commendator of Dunfermline, and chancellor of the kingdom.” As he was only twenty-one years of age at the time of his election to the metropolitan see, the Pope granted a dispensation for the occasion. Immediately afterwards the archbishop-elect set out for Rome, in order to obtain the papal confirmation. Whether he was ever consecrated is uncertain. No record remains of such an event, nor is it alluded to by contemporary historians. James died in 1503, and was interred with great pomp in the cathedral of St Andrews.

Alexander
Stuart.

The next nomination to the highest ecclesiastical dignity in the realm, vacated by the death of the Duke of Ross, cannot but be regarded (whatever the personal qualifications of the candidate) as a deplorable instance of the prevalent subservience of the interests of religion to political or personal considerations. Alexander Stuart, the natural son of James IV. by Mary Boyd of Bon-schaw, was at this time only sixteen years of age. His father, who had early destined him for the Church, had given him the advantage of an excellent education, his tutor being Dr Thomas Panther, the royal secretary, a person of high repute for learning and scholarship. The youth was afterwards intrusted to the care of Sir

Thomas Halkerton, provost of the collegiate church of Crichton, who accompanied him on his travels in France and Italy. Stuart studied for some time at Padua and Sienna, under the direction of the celebrated Erasmus of Rotterdam.¹ In the year 1509, at the instance of the king, Alexander was nominated to the see of St Andrews, which had been vacant for nearly six years, a dispensation from the impediment of illegitimacy being granted him by Pope Julius II. The youthful archbishop-elect returned in the following year to Scotland, where he was received with high distinction, and soon loaded with additional dignities. The office of chancellor was conferred on him in 1511, and he received from Julius II. the appointment of legate *à latere*, and the abbey of Dunfermline and priory of Coldingham *in commendam*. The favour and predilection hitherto shown by James IV. for the see of Glasgow was now transferred to that held by his son. The exemption from the jurisdiction of St Andrews granted to Glasgow by the Pope ceased with the death of Archbishop Blackadder, which occurred in Palestine, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage. The king imme-

¹ Erasmi, *Opera*, i. p. 363. "Nos olim quum Senæ Alexandrum Archiepiscopum titulo D. Andreæ, Jacobi Scotorum Regis filium, rhetorum studiis exerceremus, isque qui sibi jam videbatur nonnihil profecisse, rogaret, ut tantum indicatis propositionibus summis, reliquam omnem inventionem ipsi relinqueremus paruimus adolescenti ingenioso, miræque spei."

dately petitioned Julius against the renewal of the exemption.¹ The Pope complied with his request, but James was nevertheless unable to prevent the grant of a similar exemption to the see of Moray during the lifetime of Bishop Forman, who was at the same time commendator of Dryburgh and Pittenweem, and of Cottingham in England, and Archbishop of Bourges in France.² The young primate appealed to the Holy See against the grant;³ but while the matter was still pending, it was cut short by his premature death. He fell on September 9, 1513, fighting by the side of his royal father on the fatal field of Flodden.

Foundation
of St Leon-
ard's Col-
lege.

A year previous to his death, the archbishop had evinced his zeal for learning by founding, in conjunction with John Hepburn, Prior of St Andrews, a new college in his primatial city. A hospital, anciently used for the reception of pilgrims, and the church of St Leonard, with large endowments in houses and lands, were devoted to the new institute. The foundation-charter of the archbishop and chapter was confirmed by James IV. in 1513, and thirty years later by Cardinal Beaton as primate and papal legate. At the same date (1544) the statutes of the college, which had

¹ *Epist. Reg. Scot.*, vol. i. pp. 100, 101, 109.

² This see had been conferred upon him at the instance of King Louis XII., in return for certain political services.

³ *Formul. Inst. Eccles.*, foll. 172, 173 (MS. Bibliothec. Univ. S. Andr.; quoted by Robertson, *Statuta*, pp. cxxv, cxxvi).

been drawn up by Prior Hepburn, were approved by Lord James Stewart, commendator of the priory; Alexander Mylne, Abbot of Cambuskenneth and administrator of the priory; the subprior, John Winram, and the canons.¹

It was at first intended to fill the vacancy in the primatial see by the translation thither of the learned and saintly Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, who was to be replaced by Bishop Andrew Stewart of Caithness. Aberdeen was at the same time to be exempted from all jurisdiction of St Andrews. The design, however, was not carried out, probably owing to the refusal of Elphinstone; and the result was a warm and far from seemly competition for the primacy on the part of three rival candidates. These were, Andrew Foreman, Bishop of Moray; Prior Hepburn of St Andrews; and Gavin Douglas, provost of the collegiate church of St Giles at Edinburgh. Douglas was supported by the queen-mother and her second husband the Earl of Angus, who was his nephew; Hepburn looked to the assistance of his family, the powerful house of Bothwell; while Foreman, who was an able and experienced statesman and diplomatist, relied on his influence at Rome.

Rival candidates
for the primacy.

¹ Camerarius (*De Scotorum Fortitudine*), writing in 1631, thus speaks of St Leonard's: "Secundum Collegium est S. Leonardi, in quo præter humaniores literas ex fundatione a quatuor professoribus docetur Philosophia. Magna est inter hujus et prioris collegii studiosos in literis æmulatio, quæ quoisque aliquando procedit, ut ne ad manus veniant vix cohiberi possint."

Hepburn had been elected by the chapter, which was a strong argument in his favour; but he enforced his claims in an extraordinary manner, by seizing the castle of St Andrews from the Douglases and forcibly holding it against them.

Archbishop Foreman. The contest was ended in 1514, when Bishop Foreman was nominated by Pope Leo X. Archbishop of St Andrews and legate *à latere*.¹ Douglas at once withdrew his claim; but Hepburn was only induced to do the same by the mediation of the Duke of Albany, on condition of being allowed to retain certain benefices and such of the rents of the see as he had already collected. The new primate received the abbey of Dunfermline *in commendam*. King James was desirous to obtain for him a cardinal's hat, and Pope Julius appears to have been disposed to comply with his wishes. The archbishop went so far as to make arrangements for borrowing five thousand ducats to meet the necessary expenses.² The matter, however, fell through, and the expected dignity was never conferred upon him.

The new primate at once directed his attention to the consolidation of the authority of the metropolitan see. He appealed to Rome for a recall of the exemption which had been granted by the Pope to the prior and chapter of St Andrews,

¹ Or rather, *cum potestate Legati à latere*. A legate *à latere*, properly so called, is always a cardinal. See Van Espen, *Jus Eccles. Univ.*, p. i, tit. xxi., cap. 1.—TRANSLATOR.

² Robertson, *Statuta*, p. cxxvi, note.

on the ground that it had been surreptitiously obtained. In one of the archbishop's letters on the subject, he emphatically denies that the Holy See has any civil jurisdiction beyond its own temporal dominions.¹ The primate further succeeded in obtaining the limitation of the exemption of Glasgow to the lifetime of its then archbishop, and in procuring the restoration of the sees of Dunkeld and Dunblane to the province of St Andrews.

The short but vigorous episcopate of Archbishop Foreman was marked by the holding of an important diocesan synod, the enactments of which are still extant, and throw an important light on the condition of the Scottish Church during the period immediately preceding the Reformation. The following is a summary of the statutes in question :—

1. The abbots, priors, archdeacons, deans, provosts, rectors, vicars, and beneficed clergy cited to the synod, are exhorted to assist thereat devoutly and reverently, laying aside all levity and unbecoming behaviour. The clergy are to appear at the synod vested in clean surplice, and with their hair short. At eight o'clock they are to go in procession to the church, and there assist attentively at the office and sermon. No one is to

¹ “Nec Sanctissimus Dominus noster Papa quemquam in criminalibus vel civilibus exemere nisi in dominiis et terris sibi et Romane Ecclesie immediate in temporalibus subjectis consuevit.”—Robertson, *Statuta*, p. cxxvii, note.

Diocesan
Synod of
St An-
drews.

Diocesan
Synod of
St An-
drews.

leave the synod before the close without permission, on pain of excommunication. 2. All payments due on account of fines incurred, or for any other reason, to be duly made during the synod, under the same penalty as above. 3. The crying evils of clerical non-residence and concubinage, which the archbishop, willing to temper justice with mercy, has hitherto refrained from visiting with the full rigour of the canon law, are to be now put down with a strong hand. Clergy failing to reside on their benefices, to keep the buildings in good repair, and to provide the requisite church furniture, are to be deprived of a fourth of their income. Those who, after the third warning, do not put away their concubines, are to be deprived for ever of the cure of souls. The names of all delinquents are to be submitted by the deans to the diocesan synod next following. 4. Such chapels, oratories, and monasteries as are not sufficiently endowed for the decent and reverent performance of divine worship, are placed under interdict, and it is forbidden to officiate in them, on pain of suspension. 5. All faculties for hearing confessions, as well as for publishing indulgences and collecting alms, are hereby withdrawn, an exception being, however, made in favour of the Dominican and Franciscan friars. Any one henceforth using such faculties, to be *ipso facto* excommunicated. Those having the cure of souls will have their faculties renewed after due ex-

amination before the archbishop himself or his commissaries. 6. The parish priests are, on pain of excommunication, to submit to the synod the names of all excommunicated persons within their parishes, as well as of those deceased, whether their testaments have already been confirmed or not. 7. Parish priests are also, in the interest of the children of deceased persons, to lay before the synod copies of the testaments of those who have died in their parishes during the past year. These are to be registered by the archbishop's secretaries, in order to ensure that the children duly receive their portions, and also that the bequests for pious purposes are properly executed. 8. The deans are to bring with them to the synod the books of correction and visitation, as well as the registers of testaments above mentioned. 9. The parochial clergy are to bring to the synod the book known as '*Manipulus Clericorum*', so that they may be examined, if necessary, with reference to cases reserved to the Pope and the bishops, and the souls of the faithful may thus suffer no detriment through their ignorance. 10. The evils are set forth attending two prevalent customs: one, that of secret espousals, whereby the subsequent marriage of either party, in the lifetime of the other, was liable to be annulled;¹ the other, that of persons after espousal living together as man and wife, before the

¹ That is to say, "*carnali copula subsecuta*."

Diocesan
Synod of
St An-
drews.

solemnisation of the marriage ceremony. Parish priests are four times a-year publicly to denounce clandestine espousals. These are always to be made, according to the ancient discipline, in presence of a priest and a sufficient number of witnesses. Carnal intercourse between espoused persons, previous to the ceremony of marriage, is strictly prohibited; and this is to apply also to widows. Inquisition is to be made annually into the observance of these decrees, and those contravening them, whether clerics or contracting parties, are to be subjected to a pecuniary fine. 11. The solemnisation of marriage at forbidden times of the year, or without the triple proclamation of banns, is strictly forbidden. Priests infringing this law are liable to suspension, and the contracting parties to a fine of forty *solidi*, or, if nobles or magnates, ten pounds. 12. Clerics to wear garments of befitting length, with round hats and hair cut short. They are not permitted to wear coats of mail or to carry weapons. 13. Clerics who have incurred fines for any delinquencies are forbidden to ask or receive help from secular persons. 14. All persons who pass statutes prejudicial to ecclesiastical privileges and liberties incur the greater excommunication *ipso facto*. 15. The same penalty is incurred by those who presume to violate the sanctity of churches and cemeteries by fighting and bloodshed. 16. Whoever take by violence letters ad-

dressed by the ordinary, or his officials, to the parochial clergy, or otherwise prevent their due transmission and delivery, likewise incur the greater excommunication *ipso facto*. 17. The clergy are forbidden to ask or receive any money for the execution of the letters of the archbishop or his officials. 18. As it is the custom, not only throughout the diocese, but in the archiepiscopal city itself, to carry the Most Holy Sacrament through the streets privately and without due honour, it is enacted that the priest carrying it shall always be vested in surplice and stole, and be attended by at least one light and a bell, and this on pain of a fine of forty *solidi*. 19. The rite of purification after childbirth is not to be administered to concubines of the clergy, unless with due security that they will abstain in future from illicit intercourse. Chaplains contravening this canon are to be fined twenty *solidi*. 20. In order to prevent the danger of infants being overlaid by their parents or nurses (as frequently happens), the latter are not to take them into their own beds until their second year, but to lay them carefully in cradles. 21. The beneficed clergy are themselves to administer the sacraments to their parishioners, and to dismiss their substitutes. 22. The deans are to make strict inquisition into the number and nature of the chaplaincies in their respective deaneries, and to see that the intentions of the founders are duly

carried out. 23. Clergy having cure of souls are on the Wednesday of the synod to present a complete list of all the clerics attached to their churches. 24. All rectors, vicars, curates, and chaplains are to be present *in propria persona* in their churches on Saturdays at vespers, and on Sundays at High Mass and vespers. The bells are to be rung and the candles burning on the high altar; and vespers, matins, and Mass are to be duly celebrated aloud, in such a manner that the faithful may be excited to devotion, and this under penalty of a fine of two *solidi*. 25. Persons remaining for more than a year under excommunication are to be publicly denounced by the clergy. 26. In order that the number of students in the University of St Andrews may increase and flourish, for the advancement of learning and sacred science among the religious of the diocese, and the greater advantage to the Church in her warfare against heresy, it is enacted that the abbots, priors, and commendators of the religious houses of the diocese are to send to be educated in the university within two months from the date of this decree, two monks from each of the following monasteries—St Andrews, Arbroath, Dunfermline, Scone, Cupar, Lindores, Cambuskenneth, Holyrood, and Newbattle; and one each from Kelso, Dryburgh, Coldingham, and Balmerino. 27. The deans are at once to provide themselves with copies of these statutes, and to

take care, on pain of deprivation of their offices, that copies are provided for all the clergy at their own expense. The archbishop expressly reserves to himself and his commissaries absolution or relaxation from the penalties incurred by infringement of these decrees.¹

The energy and ability displayed by Archbishop Foreman during his tenure of the primacy, entitle him to a high place among the Scottish prelates of the sixteenth century. The synodal statutes cited above are sufficient evidence of his genuine desire to ameliorate the condition of the clergy, to put down abuses, augment the solemnity of divine worship, and advance the interests of learning. The archbishop died towards the close of the year 1521. An endeavour was at once made by the powerful family of Douglas to obtain the primacy for Gavin Douglas, who was now Bishop of *Dunkeld*, but in consequence of his political intrigues had been obliged to retire to England. The Scottish Government, on learning the efforts that were being made to secure his nomination to the primacy, immediately sequestered the revenues of the see, and addressed a petition to Pope Leo X. against the appointment of Douglas. His death, which occurred the following year, relieved the Government of their anxiety. Bishop Douglas, although a learned and accomplished prelate, was more of a politician than a

Diocesan
Synod of
St Andrews.

Bishop
Gavin
Douglas
of Dun-
keld.

¹ Robertson, *Statuta*, pp. cclxx-cclxxxv.

churchman ; and it has been said of him, probably with truth, that he had the ascendancy of the house of Douglas more at heart than either the good government of his diocese or the welfare of his country.¹

Bishop
Elphinstone of
of Aberdeen.

We must not pass over in silence the name of one of the most distinguished bishops who at this or any other period of her history adorned the Scottish Church. William Elphinstone was born, probably in the year 1431,² at Glasgow, where he was educated in grammar, logic, and philosophy, and afterwards practised for some time as an advocate in the ecclesiastical courts. In his twenty-sixth year he was ordained to the priesthood, and appointed to the parish of Kirk-michael. Here he remained for four years, and then with the assistance of his uncle Laurence he went to France, and studied for some time in the universities of Paris and Orleans. On his return to Glasgow, Bishop Muirhead appointed him official of the diocese. In 1474 he was chosen rector of the university, and four years later he became official of Lothian. Both at this time, and subsequently during his episcopate, important embassies were frequently intrusted to him. Under James III. and James IV. he was despatched on missions to Louis XI. of France and

¹ Grub, *Ecclesiastical Hist.*, vol. i. p. 402.

² The date given in the preface to the *Regist. Episc. Aberdon.* is, however, 1437.

Edward IV. of England ; and in the charter erecting the burgh of Old Aberdeen, James IV. mentions the various embassies of Bishop Elphinstone to England, France, Burgundy, and Austria. His services to Church and State were rewarded by his nomination to the see of *Ross* in March 1482, by King James III. ; and the following year he was translated to *Aberdeen*. The bishop remained faithful to King James during the troubles which marked the closing years of that monarch's reign, and from February until June 1488 (when James was slain) he held the office of chancellor of the kingdom. Under James IV. he was for several years Keeper of the Privy Seal.

Amid the duties appertaining to his high temporal dignities, Bishop Elphinstone was not neglectful of his episcopal office. The venerable cathedral of his see owed much to his munificence. He erected the great central tower, which he furnished with bells, and he also roofed the whole church with lead. He framed statutes for the better government of the chapter, and paid special attention to the restoration of the ancient ecclesiastical music.¹ He also laid the foundation and provided for the building of a

¹ One of the statutes directs that no one is to receive the dignity of canon, “ nisi qui in sacra theologia doctor cum effectu creatus, aut in eadem facultate licentiatus fuerit ad annuntiandum et predicandum verbum Dei populo Christiano, atque personalem residetiam in dicta nostra ecclesia more trium dignitatum post decanum personaliter faciet.”

bridge over the Dee. The compilation and printing of the Aberdeen Breviary, including the legends of the ancient Scottish saints, were the fruit of his enlightened zeal. To Bishop Elphinstone, indeed, was largely due the introduction into Scotland of the art of printing, which had been established in England some thirty years before. The Aberdeen Breviary was printed by Chapman, of Edinburgh, in 1509-1510, and was intended to be the first of a series of liturgical books which were, by order of the Privy Council of Scotland, to supersede those of Salisbury.

Foundation
of Aber-
deen Uni-
versity.

The good bishop had nothing more at heart than the advancement of the cause of true learning, so necessary in these critical times. Conscious of the advantages which he had himself derived from his residence in the most famous seat of learning in Christendom, he was desirous of extending the benefits of university education to the people of his northern diocese. In the year 1494 he obtained a bull from Pope Leo X., establishing the University of Aberdeen, for the study of theology, canon and civil law, medicine, and the arts. A royal charter, dated May 22, 1497, confirmed the new institution with all its privileges; and eight years later the bishop founded the college and church of St Mary within the university, with an endowed body of professors for teaching in the various faculties. The first principal was Hector Boece, the well-known his-

torian of Scotland, and biographer of the bishops of Aberdeen. Boece had been professor of philosophy in the University of Paris, where he had been intimate with Erasmus, as well as with Bishop Elphinstone. Among the earliest alumni of distinction in the new university are recorded the names of Arthur Boece (brother of the Principal), James Ogilvy, Alexander Galloway (who was four times chosen Rector), and John Adamson, provincial of the Dominicans, and reformer of that Order in Scotland.

The private life of Bishop Elphinstone was no less exemplary and edifying than were his public virtues. "If," says his biographer, "we account any man worthy of immortality for his virtue, or anything more excellent than virtue, whereby youth passes uncorrupted, manhood illustrious, age blameless, and every station of life with modesty, piety, integrity, sanctity, and no practice unworthy of the Christian religion, that man was William, who in every period of his life, from the earliest to the latest, devoted himself to virtue. An immodest word was to him immodesty itself. He delighted in the frequent commemoration of Christ's passion, on which he used to discourse learnedly and devoutly, and he always passed the eve of Good Friday in haircloth and prayer, without sleep. The sweet name of Jesus was never absent from his thoughts, and day and night, sleeping or waking, was always in his mouth." Virtues of
Bishop El-
phinstone.

Such was his compassion to the poor and afflicted, that he always heard and relieved their distress with tears." All through his life, even when advanced in age, he was assiduous in the study of the Sacred Scriptures and the fathers of the Church. The closing years of the bishop's life were disturbed by the disastrous war with England, which his wise counsels had been powerless to avert. The fatal tidings of Flodden caused him a shock from which he never recovered, and he survived it only for a year. In October 1514 he was seized with mortal sickness at Edinburgh. He received the sacraments of the Church with the utmost fervour and devotion; and on the twenty-fifth day of the month, conscious to the end, he peacefully breathed his last. He was interred before the high altar of his college church in Aberdeen, beneath a monumental canopy of stone. This, as well as the brass effigy of the illustrious bishop, has long disappeared; but a black marble slab still marks his last resting-place.¹

His successor in the see.

Three candidates appeared for the vacant see of Aberdeen on the death of Bishop Elphinstone. The Duke of Albany (the Regent) nominated James Ogilvie, professor of civil law in Aberdeen University; Pope Leo X. was desirous of appointing Robert Foreman, Dean of Glasgow; while the choice of the canons fell upon Alex-

¹ Boece, *Aberdon. Episc. Vitæ*, pp. 73-77. See also *Regist. Episc. Aberdon.*, vol. i. p. xlivi seq., vol. ii. pp. 249, 304.

ander Gordon, precentor of Moray, a kinsman of the Earl of Huntly. The claims of the two former were ultimately withdrawn, and Gordon received the appointment. There is, however, no evidence of his ever having been consecrated. He died in June 1518.¹

Archbishop Blackadder of *Glasgow* had died, as we have seen, while on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He was succeeded by James Beaton, Bishop-elect of Galloway, who was consecrated at Stirling on April 15, 1509. He received at the same time the abbacies of Arbroath² and Kilwinning *in commendam*, and also held the office of chancellor of the kingdom. Archbishop Beaton took an active part in the struggles which distracted Scotland during the minority of James V. Beneath his episcopal habit he was accustomed to wear a coat of mail; and the sarcasm that this strange attire drew upon one occasion from the lips of Gavin Douglas, the witty Bishop of Dunkeld, is well known. Striking his breast, Beaton declared on his conscience that he had no hostile intentions towards the opposite party. “‘Alas! my lord,’ said Douglas, as the steel plates of Beaton’s armour rang to the blow, ‘I

¹ Boece, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 77-79.

² Theiner (*Monumenta*, p. 522) gives the letter of the Regent to Pope Leo X. requesting the grant of Arbroath Abbey to the archbishop. The *Processus Consistorialis*, also printed by Theiner (pp. 624 seq.), gives an interesting and detailed description of the abbey.

perceive your conscience clatters.'"¹ The archbishop was only saved from a violent death at this time by taking refuge in the church of the Dominicans.

James IV.
and the
Franciscans
of Stirling.

Among the religious foundations of this period was the Franciscan church and convent at Stirling, founded by King James IV. in 1498. A letter, dated January 28, 1486, from the provincial, John Haye, to the general of the Order, mentions that the church was to serve also as the chapel of the royal palace. It was the constant practice of King James, during Holy Week, to withdraw himself entirely from State affairs, and remain in strict retreat in the convent at Stirling. He followed the rule of the friars in every particular, permitting no exemptions in his own favour; and on Good Friday he shared in the brethren's scanty meal, which was taken kneeling. Father Patrick Ranny, guardian of the convent at Stirling, learned from the king himself that ever since the day of his father's death, for which he held himself in great measure accountable, he had constantly worn an iron chain next his skin.¹

¹ Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 316.

² Gaudentius, *Kirschengeschichte des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts*, p. 137.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP FOREMAN TO
THE MURDER OF CARDINAL BEATON (1521–1546).

ARCHBISHOP FOREMAN, who died in 1521, was succeeded in the primatial see by James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow—Gavin Dunbar, prior of Whithorn, and former tutor to King James V., being appointed to the see of Glasgow. During the interval between his election and consecration, he succeeded in obtaining from Clement VII., who had just ascended the pontifical throne, the confirmation of a bull of Leo X.¹ exempting the see and province of Glasgow from all authority of St Andrews.² The remonstrances of Archbishop Beaton procured a temporary restriction of the exemption, and Glasgow was declared to be free from metropolitan, but subject to primatial and legatine authority.³ The influence of the

Struggles
of the see
of Glasgow
for exemp-
tion.

¹ According to Robertson (*Statuta*, p. cxxviii), this bull has disappeared, its provisions, however, being set forth in subsequent bulls of Popes Clement VII. (1524-1531), Paul III. (1539), and Julius III. (1553).

² The bull of Clement VII. is dated July 8, 1524.

³ *Reg. Episc. Glasg.*, vol. ii. p. 547.

young king, however, was brought to bear in favour of his former tutor, with the result that on September 21, 1531, Glasgow was once more exempted altogether from the jurisdiction of St Andrews. In addition to this, King James induced the Pope, in a letter dated November 30, 1530, to deprive the primate of all legatine authority, even within his own diocese.¹

Lutheran-
ism in Scot-
land.

The Lutheran opinions appear to have been introduced into Scotland as early as 1525, in which year the Scottish Parliament passed an Act forbidding the importation of Lutheran books into the kingdom, and the dissemination of Lutheran doctrines. These seem to have penetrated as far north as the diocese of Aberdeen. A Dominican named James Criton was despatched by Clement VII. to the Scottish Court, in order to remind the king of his duty to the Church, and the necessity of guarding against the entry of heresy into the realm. James wrote to the Pope on January 1, 1526, assuring him that the interests of religion were safe in his hands, not only against Lutheranism, but against every other form of heresy.²

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 594.

² *Ibid.*, p. 552. “Literas Sanctitatis Tuæ gratissimas accepimus per devotum religiosum ac familiarem nostrum Jacobum Criton ordinis divi Dóminici . . . Nam quod Lutherii fautores attinet, et quam dampnabilis hujus novi promulgatoris disciplina nobis invisa, et pro parte virili oppugnata, aliorum sit judicium. Sanctissime Pater, satis constat nos majoresque nostros non modo hujus teterimæ pestis, verum etiam a primordio, quo orthodoxa fides regnum nostrum illuminaverit, ab omni labe cuiusvis hæresis hactenus inviolatos illesosque stetisse.”

In Clement's reply, dated January 11, he thanks the monarch for his fidelity and zeal, adding that on the maintenance of the Catholic faith depends in great measure the stability of the royal authority.¹ It was not long before James had an opportunity of proving the reality of his protestations.

One of the first preachers of the new doctrines in Scotland was Patrick Hamilton. Born in 1504, and connected both with the royal family and the powerful house of Arran, he was early appointed, according to the custom of the time, to the commendatory abbacy of Ferne. It is doubtful whether he was ever ordained priest. Being suspected of holding heretical opinions, he judged it prudent to go abroad ; and becoming acquainted with Luther and Melanchthon at Wittenberg, and with Lambert at Marburg, he professed himself before long a convert to the new religion. On his return to Scotland, he commenced at once to propagate the Protestant tenets, and was in consequence arrested and imprisoned in the castle of St Andrews. The heretical opinions charged against him included the following : that every true Christian may know himself to be in a state of grace ; that the corruption of sin remains in infants after baptism ; that faith, hope, and charity are so linked together that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one

Patrick
Hamilton

His tenets.

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 553.

lacketh all ; that God is in a sense the cause of sin, by withdrawing His grace ; that auricular confession is not necessary to salvation ; that there is no purgatory ; that the Pope is anti-Christ, and that every priest has as much power as the Pope.¹ Arraigned before the ecclesiastical court on the charge of teaching these doctrines, Hamilton remained obdurate in his errors, and was sentenced to be deprived of all clerical dignities and privileges, and handed over to the secular power. In accordance with the rigorous laws of the time against heresy, he was condemned to be burned. The sentence was executed at St Andrews, in front of St Salvator's College, on February 29, 1528. Two months later the University of Louvain addressed an official letter to Archbishop Beaton, congratulating him on his vigorous measures in defence of the Catholic faith. It must be remembered that these severe measures were not dictated by a spirit of persecution. They were the logical carrying out of a principle which had been recognised from the earliest times in every country of Christendom—namely, the right and duty of the secular arm to draw the sword in defence of the Church. So far was this principle from being disowned by the Protestant party, that it was enforced both in word and deed by

His execution for
heresy.

¹ Spottiswood, *History*, vol. i. p. 124. Hamilton set forth his doctrines in a small Latin treatise, which was translated by Foxe, and incorporated by him in his *Book of Martyrs*.

the leaders of the Reformation, and vigorously put in practice by those princes who adopted the new tenets.

Although the king and the great bulk of the Scottish people were still true to the Catholic faith, the condemned doctrines had nevertheless spread widely through the country, and their diffusion was increased rather than checked by the sympathy excited by the tragic end of Hamilton, who was only in his twenty-fifth year. Meanwhile a serious cause of difference had arisen between the king and the clergy, in connection with the newly founded College of Justice. A tax of ten thousand pounds a-year, imposed by James on ecclesiastical benefices for the support of the new institution, was reduced by the bishops to fourteen hundred. Even for this, however, the formal ratification of a Provincial Council was required ; and accordingly, an Act of Parliament was passed on June 12, 1535, declaring that it was thought expedient by the Three Estates of the realm that a General Provincial Council should meet in the following March ; that the Archbishop of St Andrews be required by the king to summon the Council, and should he refuse to do so, that the king apply to the Pope for a brief authorising two other bishops to act in his place. Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow, the chancellor, consented to the enactment, “without prejudice off his archbishopric of Glasgow, priue-

Wide diffusion of Protestantism.

Question between the king and clergy.

lege and jurisdictione granted to him and his successouris.”¹ The primate summoned the Synod in the usual form, setting forth the ordinance of Parliament, the desire of the king, and the consent of the Archbishop of Glasgow; but taking care to add that the right of convoking the Synod belonged of right to the Archbishop of St Andrews as Primate of all Scotland and *legatus natus* of the Holy See. Archbishop Dunbar on his side makes no mention whatever, in his letters to his suffragans, of the summons of the primate, speaking merely of the enactment of the king and Parliament, and the consent thereto of the clergy of the realm, “*citra tamen prejudicium privilegiorum nobis et ecclesie nostre Apostolica auctoritate concessorum.*”² The Council was summoned to meet on Ash Wednesday 1536, in the Blackfriars’ Church in Edinburgh. All that is known of the proceedings, which lasted a week, is that the object of the convocation of the Synod was secured by the imposition of an annual tax on the clergy for the support of the new College of Justice. This institute, which James had probably founded with the advice of his old preceptor, the Archbishop of Glasgow, was to consist of fourteen judges, half lay and half clerical. The president was always to be an ecclesiastic. The institute

Institution
of the Col-
lege of Jus-
tice.

¹ *Acts of the Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. ii. p. 342.

² Robertson (*Statuta*, pp. cexlvii-ccli) gives the text of the letters addressed by the two archbishops to their respective suffragans.

received the confirmation of Pope Clement VII. in the year 1534, and Abbot Mylne of Cambuskenneth was appointed its first president.¹ The king appears to have urged upon the Council the abolition of the obnoxious mortuary dues exacted by the parochial clergy, and also an arrangement by which tithes could be leased for a certain fixed payment. The royal wishes, however, were unheeded, although James accompanied them with a threat that he would compel the clergy to grant feus of the Church lands at low rents.

Notwithstanding his somewhat arbitrary and high-handed dealings with the clergy, James V. continued steadfast in his attachment to the Catholic faith, and in his efforts to promote the best interests of the Scottish Church. In a letter addressed to Clement VII. in 1531, he warmly commends to the protection and favour of the Pope the Franciscan friars in his kingdom, of whose good observance and purity of life he speaks in the highest terms.² Clement, on his side, did not

James V.
and the
friars.

¹ A painting in the Parliament House in Edinburgh represents James V. handing the papal confirmation to the first president of the new court.

² Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 597. "Et cum Fratrum Minorum de observantia ordo sanctimoniae vite et puritate in omnium hominum conspectu clarissime luceat et resplendeat, et a quondam clarissimo patre nostro et a nobis in maxima semper veneratione habitus." This spontaneous tribute to the virtues of the friars on the part of James V. is strangely at variance with the supposed fact, for which Buchanan himself is the only authority, that he incited that writer to attack the Order in his scurrilous poem, the *Franciscanus*. Mr Robertson, who quotes Buchanan's statement as undoubted fact, omits all mention of the king's letter cited above.—TRANSLATOR.

fail to exhort the Scottish king to remain firm in obedience to the Holy See, and in resisting the influence of his uncle, Henry VIII. of England. In 1532 he despatched Sylvester Darius, his chaplain, and auditor of the sacred palace, as nuncio to the Court of King James, in order to confirm the ancient privileges whereby Scottish subjects were exempt from being summoned, in the first instance, before a court outside the limits of the kingdom.¹ In the same year the Pope wrote to King James expressing his gratitude for his promise to join in a crusade against the Turks. Henry VIII. meanwhile left no means untried to secure the adherence of his nephew to the new religion. Dr Barlow, his chaplain, and Lord William Howard were sent on an embassy to Scotland in 1535, with the object of negotiating a marriage between James and his cousin, the Princess Mary of England, and of inviting the young king to meet Henry VIII. in conference at York, to discuss the question of the Reformation.

Proposed conference between James V. and Henry VIII.

James received the embassy courteously, and accepted the proposal of a conference. Acting, however, by the advice of his Privy Council, who were mostly ecclesiastics, and were flatteringly styled by Barlow "the Pope's pestilent creatures and very limbs of the devil," he declined to accept the treatise sent him by his uncle, entitled 'The Doctrine of a Christian Man.' The conference

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 601.

at York was postponed, owing probably to a letter from Pope Paul III., in June 1536, earnestly requesting James to await the arrival of a new nuncio before proceeding to England. Soon afterwards the same Pontiff sent Dionysius Laurerius, the general of the Servites, to announce to the King of Scotland that a General Council was about to assemble at Mantua.¹ In the beginning of 1537 James received from the Pope, at the hands of Antony Campeggio, the cap and sword blessed on Christmas night. The nuncio, in laying this gift at the feet of the Scottish monarch, commended his attachment to the Holy See,² addressed him by the title of Defender of the Faith, and severely censured the scandalous conduct of the King of England in putting forward his pretended religious scruples as a cloak for his lust and ambition.³

Papal
favours
to King
James.

Meanwhile, an embassy had been despatched to Paris in the year 1536, in order to arrange a matrimonial alliance between the young King of Scotland and the royal family of France. The subjects of James were anxious for his marriage,

¹ This was the celebrated Council which afterwards met at Trent.—TRANSLATOR.

² Raynald, ann. 1537. “Ad te igitur, quem Catholicum principem et hujus Sanctæ Sedis devotissimum filium habemus, hunc ensem cum pileo per dilectum filium Antonium comitem de Campeggio . . . mittimus, Deum suppliciter deprecantes, ut tibi, qui tuum regnum venenis vicinarum hæresium, quamvis sœpe solicitatus, nunquam inquinari passus es, felicitatem concedat.”

³ Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 356.

for his life hitherto had been very far from immaculate. In a letter written several years before to Pope Clement VII., we find him petitioning that Pontiff for a dispensation to enter the ecclesiastical state for his three natural children, one of them born in adultery.¹ A marriage was concluded between James and Magdalen, the only daughter of the King of France;² and the ceremony was solemnised with much pomp in the cathedral of Notre Dame, on New Year's Day, 1537. After a stay of nine months in Paris, the royal pair set out for Scotland, where they were welcomed with every mark of joy and festivity. Their happiness, however, was but short-lived. The young queen fell a victim to rapid consumption, and expired within two months of her arrival in Scotland, to the deep sorrow of the whole nation.

Marriage
of the king.

Intrigues
of Henry
VIII.

Henry VIII., as may be supposed, did not view with indifference the close alliance of his nephew with the crown of France, and the marked favour shown him by the Pope. In order to counteract

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 599. In another letter, dated December 16, 1538, the king requests the perpetual commendatorship of Holyrood Abbey for his natural son Robert (*ibid.*, p. 611).

² The Scottish ambassadors (among whom was David Beaton, the future primate) had already subscribed at Crémieux a treaty of marriage between James and Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendôme. The document, which is dated December 6, 1536, is preserved in the Advocates' Library. The Scottish king, however, on his arrival in France transferred his affections to the Princess Magdalen.

these influences, he exerted himself to foster discontent among the Scottish nobles, and to support the efforts of the banished house of Douglas to return from exile ; and he was further successful in corrupting the fidelity of Sir Adam Otterburn, the Scottish ambassador in England. Henry also formally protested against the title of Defender of the Faith being bestowed upon the King of Scotland.

The state of parties at the period of the return of James to his dominions is thus depicted by Tytler :¹ “On the one hand is seen Henry VIII., the great foe to the supremacy of the see of Rome, supported in Scotland not only by the still formidable power and unceasing intrigues of the Douglases, but by a large proportion of the nobles, and the talents of his sister, the queen-mother. On the other hand, we perceive the King of Scotland backed by the united talent, zeal, and wealth of the Catholic clergy, the loyalty of some of the most potent peers, the cordial co-operation of France, the approval of the emperor, the affection of the great body of his people, upon whom the doctrines of Luther had not as yet made any very general impression, and the cordial support of the Papal See.” The historian whom we have quoted goes on to dwell with complacency on the “slow but uninterrupted progress towards the reception of the great principles of

¹ *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 359.

the Reformation" in Scotland. The record of events will show whether this progress is to be ascribed to the intrinsic vitality of the new doctrines, or to the mechanical pressure of external force, aided by the circumstances of time and place.

Burning of
heretics.

The execution of Patrick Hamilton was shortly followed by the enforcing of the same extreme penalty against other adherents of the new opinions. The first of these was a Benedictine monk named Henry Forrest, who was burned at St Andrews, probably in 1533. In the following year, David Straiton, a layman of some position, and a priest named Norman Gourlay, were tried before the king and the Bishop of Ross, acting for the primate. They also were condemned, and were burned at Greenside, near Edinburgh, on August 27, 1534. A like judgment was pronounced on Thomas Forret, a canon-regular of Inchcolm; Duncan Simson, a priest of Stirling; a layman named Robert Forrester; and two Dominican friars, named Beveridge and Keillor. The latter had written a miracle-play, in which the prelates of the Scottish Church were satirised under the characters of the chief priests and Pharisees who persecuted Christ. The above were all burned at Edinburgh on March 1, 1539; and in the same year, a Franciscan friar named Jerome Russell, and one Kennedy, a layman, suffered a similar fate at Glasgow. It should be

noted that the proceedings which were taken against these persons were sanctioned not only by the ecclesiastical law, but by the express provisions of an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1535, which renewed the ancient prohibition against the introduction of heretical doctrine, forbade the discussion of the Lutheran tenets, except with a view to their refutation, and ordered all who were in possession of any Lutheran writings to deliver them up to the bishop within the space of forty days.¹

While there were thus found some who preferred to suffer death rather than relinquish the Protestant tenets, a large number either abjured their opinions or took refuge on the Continent. Among the latter was Alexander Aless, who had studied grammar and philosophy at St Andrews, where he was ordained priest and appointed a canon. Patrick Hamilton is said to have persuaded him to embrace Protestantism, and he was for a time in prison on a charge of teaching heresy. At a synod held at St Andrews in 1529, Aless preached a violent discourse against the excesses of the clergy. He afterwards betook himself to England, where he was received into favour by Cranmer and Cromwell, and brought by them under the notice of Henry VIII. After Cromwell's beheadal in 1540, he went to Germany, where he filled the post of professor of

Alexander Aless.

¹ *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 349.

theology, first at Frankfort-on-Oder and afterwards at Leipsic. At the celebrated Diet of Worms in 1540, Aless was one of those deputed to attend on the Protestant side; but he was not permitted by the Chancellor Granvell to speak, and Melanchthon therefore took his place. When the latter, ten years later, drew up the *Repetitio Confessionis Augustanae* to be submitted to the Council of Trent, the name of Aless appears among the prominent Protestant theologians whose signatures were appended to the document.¹ In the questions raised by Osiander at Naumburg, and by Melanchthon a little later at Nuremberg, Aless also took a conspicuous part. He did not favour the extreme party, siding rather with those who maintained the necessity of good works; and on November 29, 1560, he defended this doctrine in a public disputation at Leipsic.

His controversy
with Coch-
læus.

Aless was the author of a number of controversial writings, the best known of which are those written against Cœchlæus. The latter, in his well-known commentary on the life and works of Luther, refers to his disputation with Aless. The main subjects of controversy were the prohibition by the Scotch bishops of the New Testament in the vernacular,² and the reply made by

¹ From an MS. in the Thomas Library at Leipsic. "Alexander Alesius Scotus, Doctor Theologieæ et Decanus collegi theologici in Academia Lipsica." [Communicated by Professor Lechler, Leipsic.]

² *An licet laicis legere Novi Testamenti libros lingua vernacula.*

the Lutheran princes to the eight articles of Clement VII., with reference to the assembly of a General Council.¹

John M'Alpine (styled in Latin Machabæus),<sup>Macha-
bæus.</sup> prior of the Dominicans at Perth, went to England about the year 1535, and afterwards became a professor at Copenhagen. About the same time, George Buchanan escaped from prison and fled to the Continent.^{Buchanan.} John Mair, provost of St Salvator's College, who, according to Knox, was regarded as an oracle in religious matters, was one of those who desired that the reformation in the Scottish Church should come from within rather than without, and who remained true to the Catholic faith. John Winram, sub-prior of Winram.

Disputatio inter Cohlæum et Alexandrum Alesium, 1535. Contra decretum Episcoporum Scotiaæ. Argentor., 1542.

¹ *De futuro Concilio rite celebrando.* Octo articuli a Romano Pontifice Septimo principibus Germaniae per nuntium Apostolicum proposita. Responsio Lutheranorum principum super eisdem. Epistola Joannis Cohlæi ad Archiepiscopum S. Andreæ in Scotia. Dresden in Misnia, 1533. The conclusion is set forth as follows : "Summa igitur summarum hæc est, amplissime Pater ac reverendissimè domine, quod Lutherani concilio causam suam committere non audent, diffidentes Spiritui Sancto, qui concilio præesse debet juxta Christi promissiones." See Lämmer, *Vortridentin. Theologie*, p. 97.

The following year (1534) Cohlæus published his *Pro Scotie Regno Apologia Johannis Cohlæi adversus personatum Alexandrum Alesium Scotum.* Ad Serenissimum Scotorum regem, 1534. Ex Dresda Misniae, Idibus August., 1534. This was a reply to Aless's letter to King James with reference to the prohibition of the Bible in the vernacular. According to Cohlæus, this letter was in reality written by Melanchthon. (*Op. cit.*, p. 1.)

Mackenzie (*Lives of the most eminent Scottish Writers*, vol. ii. pp. 144 seq.) gives a detailed biography of Aless.

St Andrews, was on the other hand inclined to favour the new opinions; and the same may be said of Gavin Logie, the Principal of St Leonard's College. The influence of the latter, indeed, on the side of the Lutheran tenets, was so well known, that it was commonly said if any one inclined to Protestantism, that he had drunk of St Leonard's well.¹ Logie found himself obliged to quit Scotland, probably about 1535, but it is not known what became of him. Another of the same party was Robert Richardson, son. a canon-regular of Cambuskenneth. He published at Paris, in 1530, a commentary on the rule of his Order,² in which he denounced in severe terms the relaxation and want of discipline prevalent in religious Orders, and the irregular and disedifying lives of the superiors. At the same time, he speaks in the highest terms of Abbot Mylne, who was well known as a stanch adherent to the Catholic party. The unmeasured language employed by Richardson, or more probably his subsequent leanings towards the Lutheran doctrines, obliged him to retire to England, probably about 1538. In the same year is recorded the flight to England of Robert Logie, canon of Cambuskenneth and novice-master there, and of another canon named John Richardson.

¹ See Knox, *Historie of Reformation* (ed. 1644), p. 14.

² *Exegesis in Canonem Divi Augustini*, recens edita per Fr. Rober-
tum Richardinum, celebris ecclesiæ Cambuskenalis canonicum.
Lutet., 1530.

Grub, however, supposes that "John" is here a mistake for "Robert."¹ It is certain, at all events, that a priest named Robert Richardson returned to Scotland from England in 1543, and preached the Lutheran doctrines until again compelled to fly in order to escape prosecution at the hands of Cardinal Beaton.

Another vehement assailant of the prevalent abuses of the time was Alexander Seaton, a Dominican friar, and confessor to King James V. In spite of his violent tirades against the bishops, he was so high a favourite not only of the king, but of the people at large, that the ecclesiastical authorities for a time hesitated to proceed against him. After a time, however, he seems to have lost the good opinion of the king, and to have found it expedient to betake himself to England. He wrote to James from Berwick (whither he had arrived still wearing his religious habit), stating the reasons which had impelled him to flight, and proffering advice as to the attitude to be adopted by the king with regard to the religious questions then pending. "I believe," he writes, "the Cause of my departing is unknowne to thy gracious Majesty: Which only is, because the Bishops and Churchmen of thy Realme have had heretofore such Authoritie upon thy subjects, that apparently they were rather King and thou the Subject; which unjust Regiment is of itself

Friar
Seaton.

¹ *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 13.

false, and contrarie to Holy Scripture.”¹ After this preface, Seaton goes on to bring an accusation against the Scottish bishops of condemning unheard those brought before the ecclesiastical courts. He petitions, therefore, to be heard and judged under the protection of the royal jurisdiction, and offers at the same time to hold a disputation, on the basis of Scripture, with the ignorant monks, who are unable even so much as to read their breviaries. He further proceeds to inform the king that there is incumbent upon him the duty of protecting the poor and helpless against those prelates, who by their insatiable greed and constant exactions are devouring the substance of his unfortunate subjects. Seaton, as might have been expected, conformed while in England to the schismatic church of Henry VIII. In 1541, however, he appears to have been induced by Bishop Gardiner of Winchester to retract at Paul’s Cross certain of his erroneous doctrines. He died the same year.

Airth.

One more name may be mentioned, although Knox is the only authority for the little we know of him. William Arithe or Airth, a friar, appears to have preached in Dundee, about 1534, against false miracles and the irregular lives of the bishops. When called to account by the Bishop of Brechin for his language, he betook himself to St Andrews, and there, in the presence of the

¹ Keith, *Church and State in Scotland* (ed. 1734), Appendix, p. 4.

provost of St Salvator's, Prior Hepburn, the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, and George Lockhart, provost of the collegiate church of Crichton, he repeated the same discourse. He too fled into England; but he does not appear to have abandoned the Catholic faith, as he was afterwards imprisoned by Henry VIII. for defending the authority of the Pope.¹

Amid the dangers which on all sides menaced the Scottish Church, there was one individual who, alike from his high position, energetic and statesmanlike character, and wide theological learning, was eminently fitted to uphold the laws of Church and State in defence of the ancient religion of the country. David Beaton, third son of John Beaton of Balfour, in Fife, and Isabella Monypenny, was born in 1494. By the marriage of James, first Earl of Arran, to the daughter of Sir David Beaton of Creich, the future cardinal was nearly related to the third earl, afterwards regent of Scotland and heir-presumptive to the throne.² Educated up to his sixteenth year at St Andrews, David repaired in 1511 to the University of Glasgow, his uncle James Beaton being then archbishop of that see. He completed his education at Paris, where he attained remarkable proficiency in canon and civil law; and in 1519, when only in his twenty-fifth year, he was appointed by James V. envoy at the Court of France.³

¹ Knox, *Historie*, pp. 14-16.

France. His uncle the archbishop bestowed upon him the rectories of Campsie and Cambuslang ; and on his translation to the primatial see in 1523, he resigned to his nephew the commendatory abbacy of Arbroath, obtaining for him at the same time from Pope Adrian IV. a dispensation from wearing the monastic habit for two years. In 1525 David returned to Scotland, and took his seat in Parliament as Abbot of Arbroath. One of the first acts of the young king on assuming the reins of government was to confer upon

Lord Privy
Seal.

Beaton the important office of Lord Privy Seal ; and from that period he constantly advanced in favour with his sovereign. As has been already mentioned, he was despatched on an embassy to France in 1533, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Erskine, in order to renew the alliance with King Francis I., and to negotiate a marriage between James and a princess of the French royal house. Beaton on this occasion ingratiated himself so highly at the French Court, that he became naturalised in that kingdom. He was present at the solemnisation of the marriage of King James to the Princess Magdalen, and after the ceremony returned with them to Scotland. The death of the young queen took place, as we have seen, within a few months of her marriage ; and shortly afterwards we find Beaton again on an embassy to France, requesting on the king's behalf the hand of Mary of Guise, widow of the Duke of

Natural-
ised in
France.

Longueville. It was during his present visit to the French Court that King Francis conferred upon him the bishopric of Mirepoix, which was a suffragan see of Toulouse, and brought him an annual revenue of ten thousand livres. Beaton received the papal confirmation to this see on December 5, 1537. He successfully concluded the negotiations for the marriage of James with Mary of Guise, conducted the royal bride to Scotland, and himself solemnised the marriage in the cathedral of St Andrews. In the following February he assisted at the coronation ceremony in the abbey-church of Holyrood.

Meanwhile Francis I. gave further proof of the favour in which he held the Bishop of Mirepoix, by soliciting Pope Paul III. to raise him to the dignity of cardinal. King James made the same request in two letters dated August 15, 1538. In these the king dwells on his unshaken attachment to the Holy See, and declares it to be a step demanded by the necessity of the times that the future primate of Scotland should be invested with a dignity which would enable him fitly to represent the majesty of the Church, and thus be better able to stem the progress of error.¹ In the

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 609. "Hoc omnes, qui bene volunt Rom. sedi, petunt, hoc exposunt tempora, necessitas efflagitat, ut si videlicet quispiam apud nos Cardinalitiae dignitatis amplitudine decoratus, qui ecclesiæ majestatem in his regionibus referat, qui furentes insanis erroribus animos ad sanitatem non minus reducere possit quam velit."

following September King James wrote repeating the request ; and on December 16, 1538, we find him writing to express his thanks to the Pope for his determination to elevate Beaton to the sacred purple, at the same time renewing his protestations of fidelity to the Holy See,¹ and petitioning the Pontiff to confer the office of legate on the new cardinal. Four days later, on December 20, Beaton was raised to the cardinalate, with the title of St Stephen on the Cœlian ; but the legatine authority was not conceded to him until some years later, on January 30, 1544. Latino Juvenale was appointed nuncio to convey to the cardinal the insignia of his rank, and he was also intrusted with the mission of explaining and justifying at the Scottish Court the attitude of the Holy See towards England.² A month after Beaton became cardinal, his uncle, the Archbishop of St Andrews, died, and was succeeded in the primacy by his nephew, who had six months previously been appointed coadjutor in the see, with

Beaton
made
cardinal.

Archbishop
of St An-
drews.

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 611. “ Illud vero et sæpemunero promissimus, et perpetuo promissum volumus, nos nulli nec Regi nec Principi, nec cuique etiam mortali in ista Sanctissima Sede Apostolica et observanda et colenda concessuros unquam, id cum facimus, proprium sane et legitimum hujus regiæ functionis, beneficentia divina nobis commissæ nos facere arbitramur officium, ut cum se idonea nobis offeret occasio, ostendere conabimur, quid ecclesiæ Dei, quid regio muneri, quid Sanctissimis debeamus majorum nostrorum vestigiis, nec aliunde quam ex hoc fonte manare nobis persuademus, si quid nobis nostrisve subditis aliquando prospere successit.”

² For the instructions to the nuncio see Appendix I.

the right of successor. In the following year the Pope, at the request of the new primate, nominated William Gibson Bishop of Libaria *in partibus infidelium*, to act as a coadjutor to the cardinal, with an annual income of £200, paid out of the revenues of the see of St Andrews.

The commanding abilities and high position of Cardinal Beaton, and the favour in which he stood with the Scottish king and people, could not fail to arouse the jealousy and irritation of Henry VIII., who saw in his character and policy the frustration of his own plans regarding Scotland. Henry had already, in 1539, despatched Sir Ralph Sadler on an embassy to James, instructing him to discover his nephew's sentiments with respect to the anti-English alliance between France and the empire, to ascertain how he was really disposed towards the reformed opinions, and to undermine, if possible, his confidence in the cardinal, by showing him certain letters from the latter to the Pope, which had accidentally fallen into Henry's hands, and would, he supposed, awaken the jealousy and suspicion of King James. The embassy, however, was barren of result; and a second one, undertaken in 1541 with the same object, was equally unsuccessful. Henry's resentment at this failure was increased by the conduct of the chieftains of Ireland, who, irritated by Henry's rupture with the Catholic Church, and still more by his assumption, for the first time, of

the title of King of Ireland, sent a deputation to King James to offer the Irish crown to that monarch. The bestowal by Paul III. on the King of Scotland of the very title of Defender of the Faith, which his predecessor Leo X. had conferred upon Henry for the defence of the Catholic doctrine of the sacraments against Luther, was the last drop in the cup of the royal theologian ; and his anger culminated in the open outbreak of hostilities between the two kingdoms in the autumn of 1542. The first engagement, fought at Hadden-Rig in Teviotdale, terminated in favour of the Scotch ; and Cardinal Beaton, in writing to announce the victory to the Pope, took occasion to point out that the sole cause of the rupture was the loyal refusal of James to forsake the cause of the Holy See and his ally the King of France.¹ Unfortunately, here as elsewhere, the treachery and disaffection of degenerate nobles proved fatal to the success of the Scottish arms. “They were led,” remarks Tytler,² “by those nobles who regarded the conduct of the king with disapproval and even of indignation. Many of them favoured the doctrines of the Reformation, some from a conscientious con-

Outbreak
of war with
England.

Disloyalty
of the no-
bles.

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 613. “Tanti autem belli causa non alia sane extitit, nisi quod Serenissimus Dominus meus a Sancta ista Sede Apostolica deficere, illiusque insaniam sequi noluerit, Christianissimique Gallorum Regis, socii sui, partes deserere, suasque contra illum sequi recusarit.”

² *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 373.

viction of their truth, others from an envious eye to those possessions of the Church which, under the dissolution of the English religious houses, they had seen become the prey of their brethren in England ; many dreaded the severity of the new laws against treason, and trembled for their estates, when they considered they might thus be rendered responsible for the misdeeds of their deceased predecessors ; while others were tied to the interests of the Douglases." Under such leaders, the issue of a meeting with the English forces could not be doubtful. Three thousand Scottish soldiers fled on Solway Moss before three hundred English troopers. King James, whose own valour was undoubtedly, never recovered the disgrace. He died in his palace of Falkland, of a broken heart, on December 13, 1542, when only thirty years of age. He left an only daughter, Mary, an infant of six days old, who succeeded to the crown, and whose reign was destined to close even more tragically than his own. The resemblance between the character of James V. and that of the first Scottish monarch of the name, as far as regarded vigour, talent, and energy in defending the rights of the throne, has been justly pointed out.¹ In personal purity of life, however, as well as in zeal for the truest interests of the Church, James V. compares very unfavourably with his illustrious ancestor.

Rout of
Solway
Moss.

Death of
James V.

His charac-
ter.

¹ Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 375.

The news of the death of King James had not yet reached Rome in January 1543, in which month we find Paul III. granting to the King of Scotland a large subsidy from the Church revenues of the kingdom, for the prosecution of the war with Henry VIII.—that “son of perdition” (so the Pontiff styles him), “who is labouring for no other end than to make himself master of Scotland, and destroy the Catholic faith in Scotland, as he has already done in England.”¹ It was not until May 1543 that the Regent conveyed to the Pope the tidings of the king’s death. He excuses the delay on the plea of engrossing occupations, which “hardly leave him time to breathe;”² and he requests that the revenues of the abbeys held *in commendam* by the infant children of the deceased monarch may, until they attain the canonical age of twenty-two, be administered by him for the benefit of the State, then in urgent need of funds for carrying on the war with England, the necessary sums being deducted for the maintenance of the royal children.

Proceedings against heretics under Cardinal Beaton. Borthwick.

Cardinal Beaton, on his accession to the primacy, had continued the policy of proceeding against heretics which had been sanctioned by his predecessor. In May 1540, Sir John Borthwick was summoned to appear at St Andrews on

¹ *State Papers*, Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 46.

² Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 614. “Gravissimis occupationibus, quæ sic obruant, ut respirare vix liceat.”

a charge of heresy. Among those present at his trial were Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Aberdeen, Brechin, Galloway, and Dunblane, the Abbots of Dunfermline, Melrose, Lindores, and Kinloss, and many of the leading nobles. Cardinal Beaton addressed the assemblage in an eloquent harangue, setting forth the situation of the Scottish Church, the dangers which menaced her, and the efforts which were being made to root the Catholic religion out of the country. He then proceeded to denounce Borthwick as a heretic, and ordered the articles of accusation against him to be read. According to these the accused had openly taught: 1. That the Pope had no more authority over Christians than any other prelate. 2. That indulgences are of no effect, but tend only to abuse the people and to deceive their souls. 3. That the Pope is guilty of simony, by selling spiritual gifts; and that marriage is lawful for bishops. 4. That those heresies, commonly known as the heresies of England, are to be understood as true, and conformable to God's law. 5. That the Scottish people and clergy have not the true Catholic faith, but that his own belief was better than that of all the clergy of Scotland. 6. That the clergy (as Huss and Wyclif had formerly taught) ought not to have any temporal possessions, but that all these should be taken from them, as had been done in England. 7. That the King of Scotland,

Defender of the Faith, intended to appropriate to his own use all the property of the Church. 8. That he (Borthwick) desired and prayed that the Church of Scotland might be brought to the same pass as the Church of England had already come to. 9. That the ecclesiastical law and sacred canons are of no force or effect. 10. That religion is not to be observed, but altogether abolished and destroyed.¹ As Borthwick did not appear to answer these charges, sentence was pronounced against him in his absence. His goods were confiscated, and he himself burned in effigy, on the 28th of May. Borthwick fled to England, and entered the service of Henry VIII., who afterwards sent him on an embassy to the Protestant princes of Germany.

James V.
and the
Scottish
clergy.

Notwithstanding the high favour which James V. extended to the person and policy of Beaton, he was fully alive to the various abuses which prevailed in the Scottish Church. It was alleged, although, as we have seen,² on very doubtful authority, that Buchanan was encouraged by the king to satirise the Franciscan Order in a scurrilous poem ; and he appears to have sanctioned by his presence the performance of Sir David Lindsay's play of "The Three Estates," which is said to have "contributed more to the Reformation in Scotland than all the sermons of John Knox."³

¹ Keith, *Church and State in Scotland*, Appendix, pp. 6, 7.

² See *ante*, p. 139, note 2.

³ Pinkerton, *Scottish Poems reprinted*, vol. i. p. xvii.

A contemporary letter represents James as having threatened the bishops that unless they reformed their lives he would send some of them to be dealt with by his uncle of England;¹ and in his last Parliament, held in 1541, he renewed his exhortations to the same effect, declaring that it was the negligent and disorderly lives of so many ecclesiastics that had brought the Church and churchmen into contempt.²

The death of James V., who, with all his faults, had never shown the slightest leaning towards the new opinions, enabled the Protestant party to assume a much bolder attitude than hitherto. Arran, the Regent, openly favoured the Reformed doctrines, and received into his service two apostate Dominican friars named Williams and Rough. The Scottish Parliament, on March 15, 1543, passed an Act, on the proposal of Lord Maxwell, who had embraced Protestantism while a prisoner in England, permitting the reading of the Old and New Testaments in the vernacular.³ In the absence of the Cardinal, who had been thrown into prison by the English faction on a false charge of treason, the Archbishop of Glasgow formally protested against the passing of this Act until it should have been discussed by a Provincial Council.

Imprison-
ment of
Beaton.

¹ *State Papers*, Henry VIII., vol. v. pp. 169, 170.

² *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 370.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 415.

Projected
marriage
of Queen
Mary to
the Prince
of Wales.

Another question that was brought before the same Parliament was the proposed marriage of the infant queen to the eldest son of the King of England. Henry had previously induced a number of the Scottish nobles to sign a secret bond or obligation, in which they bound themselves to acknowledge him as lord paramount of Scotland, to endeavour to get all the Scottish fortresses, and the government of the kingdom, delivered into his hands, and to have the infant queen intrusted to his guardianship ; and finally, in case these demands were refused by the Scottish Parliament, to assist him by every means in their power in the conquest of the country. Among the parties to this disgraceful convention were the Earls of Angus and Cassillis, Lords Maxwell, Somerville, and Oliphant, Sir George Douglas, the Master of Maxwell, and others, all of whom were in receipt of pensions of various amount from Henry, as the reward of their treachery.¹ Fortunately, however, the influence of these renegade nobles was not powerful enough to secure the accomplishment of their nefarious plans. The Parliament accepted the principle of the proposed union between the infant queen and the Prince of Wales, but resolutely refused to entertain the other propositions of the English king.

Liberation
of the Car-
dinal.

Meanwhile the imprisonment of the Cardinal had been followed by an interdict extending over

¹ *Calendar of State Papers (Scotl.)*, vol. i. p. 44.

the greater part of the kingdom. The divine service was suspended ; the sacraments were no longer administered ; and so deep was the feeling caused by this state of things among the people, who still in great part clung to the old religion, that it was deemed prudent to liberate Beaton without delay. No sooner had he recovered his freedom than he summoned a general convention of the bishops and clergy at St Andrews, and laid before them the imminent danger that menaced both Church and State from the insolent and overbearing demands of England. A sum of ten thousand pounds, to be levied by a tax upon all benefices exceeding forty pounds in annual value, was enthusiastically voted in support of the expenses of a war in defence of national independence ; and such was the patriotic ardour of the clergy, that they declared themselves ready not only to sacrifice all they possessed in the national cause, but, if need were, to take up arms in person.¹ The intrigues of the Regent with Henry VIII., who had held out hopes of giving him his daughter Elizabeth in marriage, and even

Patriotism
of the
clergy.

¹ Sadler, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 204. "They have resolved that they will, for the maintenance of the war, give all the money they have, and also their own plate and their Church's plate—as chalices, crosses, censers, and all—leaving nothing unspent in that quarrel, and fight themselves if need require." Teulet (*Relat. Politic. de la France avec l'Ecosse*, vol. i. p. 211) mentions that some of the clergy actually fought at Pinkie, in 1546, under a banner inscribed AFFLICTÆ SPONSÆ NE OBLIVISCARIS. See Robertson, *Statuta*, p. cxliv.

Energetic
policy of
Beaton.

of raising him to the throne of Scotland, rendered it imperative for the national and Catholic party to take vigorous measures. The zeal and energy of Beaton were successful in awaking the patriotism of the country, in securing the person of the young queen, and in inducing a portion of the nobility to forsake their unnatural alliance with the arch-enemy of Scotland. Among the latter was Arran himself, who, partly through the influence of his illegitimate brother, the Abbot of Paisley, was persuaded to abjure his Protestant opinions in the Franciscan Church at Stirling.

Papal
nuncio to
Scotland.

Six months later, in October 1543, Marco Grimani, patriarch of Aquileia, was despatched by the Pope as nuncio to Scotland.¹ We have no precise information as to the special object of his mission, but he was doubtless instructed to confirm the Regent in his adherence to the Catholic cause, and to assure him of the continued support of the Holy See in the threatened hostilities with England. He seems also to have strongly advised against the proposed marriage of Mary to the Prince of Wales. The nuncio was entertained during the winter with much hospitality and splendour by the Scottish nobles; and on his departure in March 1544, he expressed in glowing terms, at the Courts of France and Venice, and the Apostolic See itself, the favourable im-

¹ Bishop Leslie is mistaken in his statement (*Hist.*, p. 445) that the nuncio was Contarini, Patriarch of Venice.—TRANSLATOR.

pressions he had received of the Scottish kingdom and people.¹ It was during his sojourn in Scotland, in January 1544, that the Pope at length bestowed upon Cardinal Beaton the office and dignity of legate.

In the month of December 1543, the Parliament again met, and proceeded to take vigorous measures against Angus and the rest of his party, who had subscribed the disloyal convention with Henry. Angus himself was cited on a charge of treason; Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange was deprived of the treasurership, which was conferred upon Abbot Hamilton of Paisley; and the Cardinal received the high dignity of Chancellor of the kingdom. The Parliament, moreover, annulled the treaty of marriage with England, on the ground of the injustice and bad faith exhibited by Henry VIII.; and it further set forth the grave complaints that were daily made regarding the spread of heresy in the kingdom, and enjoined the bishops to make strict inquisition on the subject, and to proceed against all offenders according to law. These energetic measures were a complete check to the hopes of the disloyal nobles; and the Earls of Lennox, Angus, Glencairn, and Cassillis, who a few months before had been in the pay and service of the King of England, did not hesitate, in order to escape the just penalty of their treason, to sign a document binding them-

Parliamentary proceedings against the disloyal nobles.

Their contemptible behaviour.

¹ Keith, *Church and State in Scotland*, p. 40.

selves “to remain true, faithful, and obedient servants to their sovereign lady and her authority, to assist the lord governor for defence of the realm against their old enemies of England, to support the liberties of Holy Church, and to maintain the true Christian faith.” Tytler¹ may well call this a striking picture of the meanness and dishonesty of the English party, who have reaped in the pages of some of our historians so high a meed of praise as the advocates of Protestantism. There is, in truth, no more remarkable contrast in Scottish history than that presented between the odious and contemptible conduct of these recalcitrant lords, who were at the same time the supporters and patrons of the Reformed doctrines, and the noble and patriotic figure of Cardinal Beaton, devoting all the energies of his powerful mind to the maintenance of the national religion and the national independence.

Conspiracy
against
Cardinal
Beaton.

Henry VIII. was too acute not to perceive that as long as the Cardinal lived, his own unscrupulous schemes regarding Scotland had little chance of fulfilment; and he had no hesitation in conniving at, if not openly encouraging, a plot for his assassination. Crichton, Laird of Brunston, a man characterised by all the violence and sanguinary ferocity of the dark ages, entered into correspondence with Henry, offering on certain conditions to procure the assassination of the

¹ *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 20.

Cardinal. He despatched George Wishart (the same who was afterwards known as the Martyr¹) to the Earl of Hertford at Newcastle, to arrange the particulars of the plot. Wishart thence proceeded to the English Court to communicate the affair to Henry. That monarch, we are told, received Wishart and the letter which he brought from Crichton *with much satisfaction*, and promised his protection to the conspirators. For three years a correspondence on the subject was carried on between Crichton, the Earl of Cassillis, and Sir Ralph Sadler. During this time Henry remained cautiously in the background, keeping himself informed, however, of the progress of the conspiracy through Sadler, whom he authorised to make arrangements for the reward of the confederates. Among the secret correspondence of the State Paper Office is a letter from Cassillis to Sadler offering to kill the Cardinal, "if his majesty would have it done, and promised when it was done a reward." This letter was shown by Sadler to the Earl of Hertford, and by him transmitted to the king. Henry sent an answer through his Privy Council to the following effect : "His majesty hath willed us to signify to your lordship that his highness, reputing the fact not

First appearance
of "Wish-
art, the
Martyr."

Policy of
Henry
VIII.

¹ The identity of Brunston's emissary with "Wishart the Martyr," which Protestant historians have not unnaturally wished to discredit, has been established beyond doubt by the recently published correspondence preserved in the State Paper Office.—TRANSLATOR.

meet to be set forward expressly by his majesty, will not seem to have to do in it, and yet not misliking the offer, thinketh good that Mr Sadler, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the earl of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to the king's majesty. . . . He shall say that if he were in the Earl of Cassillis's place, and were as able to do his majesty good service there as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it, believing verily to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the king's majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland.”¹ By this astute reply “Henry,” remarks Tytler,² “preserved, as he imagined, his regal dignity; and whilst he affected ignorance of the atrocious design, encouraged its execution, and shifted the whole responsibility upon his obsequious agents.” Sir George Douglas sent to inform Hertford, with brutal frankness, that if the king wished the Cardinal dead, and would promise a good reward for the doing thereof, the matter could easily be arranged. Henry, however, shrank from openly countenancing so outrageous a deed, although

¹ This extraordinary letter, which is printed in the *State Papers* (Henry VIII.), vol. v. p. 449, is partly in the handwriting of Secretary Paget and partly of the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley.—TRANSLATOR.

² *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 32.

ready secretly to encourage it. For a time, therefore, the execution of the plot was delayed.

In January 1546, another general convention of the clergy was summoned by the Cardinal to meet in the Blackfriars' Church at Edinburgh. The emergency was in truth pressing: the English had crossed the Border, and the great abbeys of Melrose, Jedburgh, Kelso, and Dryburgh, with many of the smaller churches and monasteries, had already been given to the flames. The assemblage unanimously voted a second contribution of thirteen thousand pounds, to be levied as before on benefices exceeding forty pounds in annual value.¹ Two months later, the Cardinal, in virtue of his powers as metropolitan and legate *a latere* (to which latter dignity he had been raised, it will be remembered, in January 1544),² convoked a Provincial Council at St Andrews. Its first proceeding was to impose a tax of two thousand five hundred pounds to pay the expenses of Scottish representatives at the Council of Trent.³ No prelate, however, appears to have

Convention
of the
clergy.

Provincial
Council at
St Andrews.

Scotland
and the
Council of
Trent.

¹ Robertson, *Statuta*, p. cxliv.

² According to a letter from Shrewsbury to Henry VIII. (*State Papers*, vol. v. p. 443), the vessel bearing Beaton's legatine commission was captured by an English privateer, and the document, with others, was sent to Henry. It is now in the Record Office. Brady (*Episcopal Succession*, vol. i. p. 126) cites the appointment of Beaton as legate for Scotland from the Consistorial Acts in the Barberini library, but he gives the date wrongly as 1541.

³ Quoted by Robertson (*Statuta*, p. 287) from the *Taxationes super Scoticana Ecclesia* (MS. in the Register House).

been actually sent from Scotland to the Council. Cardinal Beaton himself, although repeatedly summoned by Paul III. to attend, had found it impossible to absent himself from the country in the critical position of Church and State. King James, as early as February 1541, had written to the Pope asking him to dispense with the Cardinal's attendance;¹ and on May 2, 1543, Beaton himself wrote excusing his non-compliance with the papal summons, on the ground of the state of public affairs in Scotland.² The Cardinal's plea may well be accepted as reasonable when it is remembered that, in addition to the cares of State and the government of the Scottish Church, he had also to contend against the spread of heresy and the daily increasing religious divisions in his unhappy country. In a letter addressed on December 23, 1544, to Cardinal Cervini, afterwards Pope Marcellus II., Beaton speaks in strong terms of the distracted state of Scotland, and of the overwhelming nature of his labours for the cause of Church and State.³ To add to his

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 613.

² *Ibid.*, p. 614. In this letter Beaton thus alludes to his imprisonment and subsequent liberation: "Dolo et fraude circumventus in captivitatem et custodiam ad tres menses cum dimidio arripior, instigante ad id ac nonnullos corrupente Anglorum rege. . . . Eodem rege invito gementibusque adversariis ad pristinam libatatem sum restitutus, idque non sine maximo omnium bonorum desiderio et gratulatione, summaque meæ innocentiae testificatione."

³ *Ibid.*, p. 615. "Vitam transegi laboriosissimam in magnis

troubles, he became involved in the year 1545 in an unseemly contest with his rival metropolitan of Glasgow. In a letter to the Pope detailing the affair,¹ the Cardinal narrates that, when he went to Glasgow, accompanied by the Regent and the Queen-Dowager, the Archbishop insisted on having his cross borne before him and blessing the people, in defiance of the well-known law that neither archbishop nor patriarch is entitled to use his cross in presence of a legate of the Holy See. The refusal of Archbishop Dunbar to comply with this law gave rise to a scandalous riot in the cathedral of St Mungo, blows being freely exchanged, and the crosses of both metropolitans broken.² There seems no doubt that this unfortunate disturbance took place in 1545, in which year it is recorded in the *Diurnal of Occurrents* of the contemporary Pollok Chronicle.³ Bishop Leslie, however, who wrote not more than twenty-five years later, assigns it, probably by mistake, to the year 1543, and states that the

Dispute
between
the metro-
politans of
St An-
drews and
Glasgow.

et gravibus angustiis, ut meis periculis aliorum pericula declinarem."

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 617.

² The Cardinal had unquestionably the right on his side in this discrediting wrangle, which it is to be hoped was occasioned rather by the mutual jealousy of the followers of the rival prelates than of the archbishops themselves. See Van Espen, *Jus Eccles. Univ.*, p. i. tit. xxxi. cap. 2. "Quin ea erat dignitas Legatorum, ut nec Archiepiscopi, immo nec Patriarchæ possent Dominicæ crucis vexillum sibi jubere præferri ubicunque præsens esset Summi Pontificis Legatus utens insigniis Apostolicæ dignitatis."

³ P. 39.

occasion of the riot was the reception of the papal nuncio, the Patriarch of Aquileia (whom he styles the Patriarch of Venice) in Glasgow.¹

George
Wishart.

Early life.

The proceedings of the Provincial Council at Edinburgh appear to have been interrupted by the apprehension and trial of George Wishart, whom we have already seen to be mixed up in the plot for the assassination of the Cardinal. Little is known of Wishart's early life, but he is generally supposed to have been the son of James Wishart of Pitarro, and to have owed his instruction in the new doctrines to Erskine of Dun, well known as a bitter enemy to the Catholic Church. Wishart is said to have been for some time a schoolmaster in Montrose, and to have got into trouble there for teaching the New Testament in Greek. There is little authority, however, for these statements; but it is probably true that he fled to England in 1538, preached at Bristol against the invocation of the Blessed Virgin, and afterwards openly recanted in the same place. We next hear of him at Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, where his charity to the poor and a naturally attractive disposition made him generally esteemed. In 1543 he returned to Scotland, in the train of the commissioners who had been sent to England to negotiate the marriage of the young queen. Thenceforward we find him in

¹ *Hist. of Scotland*, p. 448. The good bishop is by no means infallible in his chronology.

close connection with that party which was headed by the Earls of Cassillis, Glencairn, and Marshall, and the Laird of Brunston—men who combined, as we have seen, the part of traitors to their queen and country with that of zealous promoters of the Reformed religion. Protected by the arms and influence of these more than questionable patrons, Wishart preached in Perth, Dundee, Montrose, and Ayr, thundering against the errors of Popery and the lives of the clergy in a style that stirred up the populace to frequent outbreaks of fanatical violence. At Dundee the convents of the Dominican and Franciscan friars were destroyed by the mob; the abbey of Lin-dores was sacked, and the monks expelled; and when a similar outrage on the Blackfriars at Edinburgh was prevented by the prompt interference of the citizens, Wishart did not scruple to threaten them with the vengeance of heaven for their opposition to the work of destruction. For more than two years Wishart continued to preach in various parts of Scotland, and it was during this period that he was selected by his friend the Laird of Brunston as a fitting emissary to convey to England the particulars of the plot for murdering the Cardinal.¹ Beaton received information

His connection with the traitorous party.

Effects of his preaching.

¹ Grub (*Ecclesiastical Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 26) endeavours to exculpate Wishart from the charge of connivance in the conspiracy against the Cardinal, on the ground of his “stainless character.” This, it is hardly necessary to point out, is simply begging the question. *Noscitur a sociis*; and, apart from the direct evidence against him,

of the scheme and of Wishart's share in it, and took measures for his apprehension. The preacher on his side redoubled his precautions. "When he preached," says Tytler,¹ "he was surrounded by mail-clad barons and their armed retainers, and a two-handed sword was carried before him by some tried follower."

His appre-
hension.

Accusa-
tions
against
him.

At length, on January 16, 1546, Wishart was arrested by the Earl of Bothwell at Ormiston, and delivered to the Cardinal, who caused him to be taken to St Andrews. His trial took place in the metropolitan cathedral, towards the end of February, in presence of the two archbishops and other prelates. A sermon was preached upon the occasion by Winram, the sub-prior of St Andrews, on the parable of the wheat and the cockle. The preacher set forth the nature and cause of heresies, and pointed out how they might be known, and concluded by justifying the punishment of heretics by the temporal sword. After the sermon, the articles of accusation were read. Wishart was charged with denying the doctrine of the sacraments, free-will, purgatory, and the invocation of saints, and teaching that the sacrament of the altar is only bread, that every layman is a priest, and that the Pope has no more power than any other man. He was also accused of upholding

Wishart's acknowledged and long-continued intimacy with traitors, renegades, and murderers is not much in his favour.—TRANSLATOR.

¹ *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 42.

the lawfulness of the marriage of priests, and of preaching in spite of the prohibition of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. Wishart made a long reply, attempting to justify his tenets by the text of Scripture, and concluding by a violent invective against the doctrines of the Catholic Church, which he characterised as pestilential, blasphemous, and abominable, not coming by the inspiration of God, but of the devil.¹ Remaining obdurate in his errors, Wishart was condemned to death, and was burned at St Andrews on March 28, 1546.²

His con-
demnation
and execu-
tion.

The plot
against
Cardinal
Beaton.

The execution of Wishart produced a profound impression throughout the country, and the enemies of the Cardinal judged the time at length ripe for putting their atrocious design into execution. Crichton had already complained in his letters to Wharton that Henry VIII. had neither definitely expressed his wishes, nor explicitly promised a reward. On October 6, 1545, he wrote to the king, through Hertford, mentioning that the Cardinal was contemplating a journey to France, and adding, “I hoip to God

¹ Knox, *Historie of Reformation*, p. 91.

² It is perhaps worth while to point out the *ad captandum* style in which Tytler (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 45) inveighs against the “inhuman torments” inflicted upon Wishart. As he himself relates a few lines previously (following Knox, who in this matter was not likely to minimise the facts), the prisoner was strangled before the fire was applied; so that he suffered no more inhuman torments than are endured by the criminal who dies on the scaffold to-day.—TRANSLATOR.

his jornay shal be shortit to his displesour ; ”¹ and on October 20 he again wrote to Henry, expressing a desire for an interview with Sadler at Berwick ; “ which I wold,” he says, “ war as secrete as war possibl, for yf it cum to knowledge it is the losing to me both of lyfe and heritage.”² During the next six months we see the nets of intrigue and conspiracy gathering closer and closer round the doomed prelate ; and at length, in May 1546, a pretext was found for the execution of the long-cherished plot, in a dispute which had arisen between the Cardinal and Norman Leslie, the young Master of Rothes, regarding the sale of an estate in Fife. Norman, with his uncle John Leslie, Kirkaldy of Grange, and James Melville, undertook the work of butchery. On May 28 they arrived at St Andrews, and at daybreak on the following morning they obtained admission into the castle, and despatched the Cardinal with repeated strokes of their swords. Knox³ is responsible for the statement that Melville, whom he describes as “a man most gentle and most modest,” added blasphemy to murder by avowing himself the messenger of God, who was sent to slay Beaton as an enemy of Christ and His holy Gospel.

Murder of
the Cardi-
nal.

His charac-
ter. Thus perished, in the forty-fifth year of his age, David Beaton, Primate and Chancellor of

¹ *State Papers* (Henry VIII.), vol. v. p. 549.

² *Ibid.*, p. 551.

³ *Historie of Reformation*, p. 72.

Scotland. The preceding pages have shown with how strong and skilful a hand, during this stormy period of Scottish history, he held the reins of power, and with what unswerving faithfulness he protected the rights of the infant queen against a disloyal and mercenary nobility. He stands out on the page of history a true patriot, ever on his guard against the wiles of the ancient and hereditary foe to the freedom and independence of Scotland, and alert to warn the representatives of the nation against the intrigues of those who plotted her destruction. Nor was he less vigilant in the discharge of the spiritual functions of his high office, in watching over the interests of the Scottish Church, and protecting her to the best of his power from the fatal inroads of schism and heresy. As to the Cardinal's personal character, it has been violently attacked, and no less warmly defended ; and we cannot perhaps do better than sum up the question in the words of a singularly dispassionate and impartial Protestant writer. "Cardinal Beaton's moral character," observes Mr Lyon,¹ "has been as much mangled by Knox, Buchanan, and Sir David Lindsay, as his body was by his assassins. The unproved assertions of avowed enemies can be of no weight against any man, and would be rejected in every court of justice. It has been asserted, or hinted, that he poisoned his master (the king) and forged

¹ *History of St Andrews* (ed. 1843).

his will;¹ that he had an intrigue with the queen; that he caused or endeavoured to cause various murders to be committed;² and that he kept numerous mistresses. But they who bring those charges against him betray so much hatred of the man, that without more evidence than they have ever yet produced, they cannot be credited. The charges were never raised till after his death. They are often absurd and contradictory, and they are strenuously denied by his admirers—Leslie, Winzet, and Barne—who are fully as worthy of credit as his enemies. For these reasons, I think it unnecessary to enter upon a formal investigation of them. The accusations and the denials may be considered as neutralising each other; and for the facts themselves, we have scarcely sufficient evidence from history to decide upon them positively."

Charge of
persecution
against
him.

With regard to the charge of persecution commonly brought against Cardinal Beaton, account

¹ Buckle, who cannot be considered as prejudiced in favour of Catholicism, points out (*Hist. of Civilisation*, vol. iii. p. 70) that there is not the slightest evidence for this assertion, except the unsupported statement of Arran, and "the testimony," he adds, "of Scottish historians, who do not profess to have examined the handwriting, and who, being themselves Protestants, seem to suppose that the fact of a man being a cardinal qualifies him for every crime."—TRANSLATOR.

² Tytler (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 42) speaks without any qualification of Wishart twice escaping "the plots which that unscrupulous prelate [Beaton] had laid for his life;" although he is candid enough to add in a note that there is no contemporary evidence whatever for this statement.—TRANSLATOR.

must be taken, before he is condemned for inhumanity, of the age in which he lived, and the sentiments commonly prevailing at that time. Not more than seven persons are recorded to have suffered death under the Cardinal; and if we compare this small number, none of whom are said to have been tortured, with the hundreds of lives sacrificed with every circumstance of atrocity under some of his contemporaries, we shall probably agree with a recent writer¹ that he “deserves rather to be commended for his moderation than denounced for his barbarity.” The assassination of Beaton (notwithstanding the words which Knox puts into the mouth of his murderer) was no sudden outbreak of fury against a persecutor of religion, but—as Tytler justly remarks, and as has been indeed abundantly proved—“an act of long-projected murder, encouraged, if not originated, by the English monarch, and, so far as the principal conspirators were concerned, committed from private and mercenary considerations.”²

An excellent picture of Beaton, formerly in the Scots College at Rome, now hangs on the walls of the Catholic College at Blairs, in Aberdeenshire. It is in his doctor’s bonnet—painted probably before he obtained the cardinal’s hat; but the brown hair is slightly silvered, and the whole

Portraits
of the Car-
dinal.

¹ Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 14.

² Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 48.

aspect bespeaks a man past his youth. His broad brow and dark eye, clear northern complexion and high features, make up on the whole a remarkably handsome face, with an undeniably air of nobility and command.¹ There is another portrait of the Cardinal in one of the apartments of Holyrood Palace. It depicts him in a black dress, with white bands, and wearing the red skull-cap of a cardinal.

On July 29 1546, two months after the Cardinal's death, a Parliament was assembled, and the conspirators, who after their atrocious deed had seized the castle of St Andrews, where they were now firmly intrenched, were declared guilty of treason, all persons being strictly interdicted from affording them any assistance in their rebellion.² A month later the Regent sent a letter to the Pope and the College of Cardinals, by the hands of Patrick Lydell, expressing his grief and indignation at the murder of the Cardinal, whom he styles the companion and sharer in all his labours and dangers, one to whom he confided every plan and thought, and whom he venerated as a father.³

¹ The above description is from an article in the *Quarterly Review* (vol. lxxxix. p. 44).

² *Acts of Parliament of Scotl.*, vol. ii. pp. 478, 479.

³ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 618. “Videbamus enim summo dolore extinctum esse virum optimum, reipublicæ amantissimum, et sanguine nobis conjunctissimum, laboris omnis periculique comitem et socium, apud quem omnia nostra consilia, cogitationes omnes effundere solebamus, et eum denique amissum quem patris loco coluissemus.”

Arran's letter sets forth the difficulties in the way of the condign punishment of the assassins. These had shut themselves up in the castle of St Andrews, where they kept prisoner the eldest son of the Regent (and heir-presumptive to the throne), who had been intrusted by his father to the Cardinal's care. Arran feared, moreover, that should an attempt be made to force the stronghold, the conspirators would invite to their assistance the English fleet, which was already in command of the Firth of Forth. The Scottish emissary was further charged to lay before the Holy See the melancholy situation of Scotland, to renew on the part of the Regent his protestations of attachment to the Catholic faith, and to implore some material assistance towards the prosecution of the war with England. By way of enforcing this petition, Lydell was to remind the Pope that since their first conversion to Christianity (which event is assigned to the year 263 A.D.) the Scottish people had never wavered in their adherence to the Holy See, and had never before applied to it for help.¹

Next to the great figure of the Cardinal-primate, one of the most prominent and influential prelates of Scotland at this time was John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, the illegitimate brother of

Appeal to
the Holy
See for
help.

Abbot
Hamilton.

¹ Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 618. "Informationes Sanctissimo Domino nostro Papæ et S. Collegio de regno Scotiæ, datae a Patrio Lydell oratore Scotiæ gubernatoris."

the Regent. On the death of Bishop Crichton of *Dunkeld*, Hamilton succeeded to that see.¹ In July 1547 we find Arran writing to Pope Paul III. to recommend another of his brothers, James Hamilton, to the vacant see of Glasgow, stipulating at the same time for a thousand pounds of the archiepiscopal revenue to be granted to two more of his brothers, David and Claud.² The request was not granted, but that it should have been made at all is a lamentable instance of the laxity of the times. The records of other dioceses

Prevalent system of nomination to bishoprics.

Archbishop Dunbar.

show how commonly the scions of noble houses, often of illegitimate birth, were nominated to the vacant bishoprics. In 1545, William Gordon, son of the Earl of Huntly, became Bishop of *Aberdeen* in succession to William Stewart. Bishop Andrew Stuart of *Caithness* was succeeded in 1541 by Robert Stuart, son of the Earl of Lennox, a youth in his twentieth year, who had only just received the clerical tonsure.³ He afterwards became a Protestant. David Panter, secretary to the Regent, became Bishop of *Ross*, in 1545.⁴ The see of *Glasgow* was worthily filled at this time by Gavin Dunbar, of whom we have already spoken, and whose accomplishments have been celebrated in the elegant verse of Buchanan. He was acknowledged even by his enemies to be a prelate

¹ In December 1544—"cum dispensatione super defectu natalium."—Brady, *Episc. Success.*, vol. i. p. 131.

² Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 620.

³ Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i. p. 149.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

of learning and piety, if not of consummate worldly prudence. Archbishop Dunbar died on April 30, 1547. Another prelate of the same name, uncle to the Archbishop of Glasgow, was Bishop of Aberdeen from 1518 to 1532, and was perhaps, next to Bishop Elphinstone, the most illustrious occupant of that see. He was distinguished alike for his zeal for the divine service¹ and his charity to the poor. The words of the deed of foundation of the hospital which he established at Aberdeen bear testimony to his piety and munificence.²

A few months before the death of Cardinal Beaton we find recorded one of the last religious foundations in Scotland. This was the erection by Malcolm, Lord Fleming, of the collegiate church of Biggar, in Lanark. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and was endowed for a provost, eight prebendaries, four choristers, and six poor bedesmen, whose duty was to pray at stated times for the founder and his family.

¹ Bishop Dunbar had printed at Antwerp, in 1527, an *Epistolary de tempore et de Sanctis*, for the use of his cathedral church. See *Regist. Episc. Aberdon.*, vol. ii. p. 236.

² “Prælatos Ecclesiæ universos patrimonii crucifixi non dominos sed custodes et dispensatores fore, satis constat; et quod de ecclesiæ fructibus cuicunque prælato præter Ecclesiæ et vitæ necessaria superest, prælatus ipse pauperibus erogare in pios usus dispensare tenetur . . . memoresque verborum omnipotentis Domini dicentis, *Frange esurienti panem tuum, et egenos vagosque induc in domum tuam . . . quoddam hospitale apud ecclesiam nostram Cathedralem extra cimiterium facere, construere, et ut sequitur dotare decernimus.*”—*Regist. Episc. Aberdon.*, vol. i. p. 401.

Bishop
Dunbar of
Aberdeen.

Foundation
of Biggar.

Collegiate
churches
erected
before the
Reforma-
tion.

The erection and endowment of this church, which affords an interesting proof that on the very eve of the Reformation the spirit of piety and religious munificence was not yet extinct, even among the effete and degenerate nobles, was the last, as we have said, of those numerous collegiate foundations which commenced with that of Dunbar, at the end of the fourteenth century.¹ The number of these establishments, amounting altogether to close upon forty, may seem somewhat out of proportion to the size of the country and the number of the parochial clergy. It has been asserted, indeed, that they drew away so many of the latter from the cure of souls, that serious detriment was done to the people in consequence.² Such a statement, however, certainly goes beyond the truth. Here and there it may have been the case; that it was so generally is disproved by the fact that many of the collegiate churches were parish churches at the same time, express mention being frequently made of a vicar or curate to whom was intrusted the parochial charge. Nor is the accusation that these establishments encouraged idleness among the clergy any better founded. To most if not to all of them were attached elementary schools which were taught by the clergy belonging to the foundation.

Schools
attached to
them.

¹ See *ante*, p. 29. A complete list of the collegiate churches and hospitals in Scotland will be found in Appendix II.

² Walcott, *Ancient Church of Scotland*, p. 356.

We must not omit to mention the numerous hospitals which, either in connection with the collegiate churches or as separate institutions, were among the most interesting features of Catholic Scotland. They not only offered permanent shelter to the sick and aged, but served also as hostellries where pilgrims and travellers were received and entertained. Others were specially devoted to cases of leprosy, which was by no means an uncommon disease in medieval Scotland. The form of the hospital was generally similar to that of the church ; the nave formed the common room, the beds were placed in the transepts, and the whole was screened off from the eastern end of the building, where was the chapel. This was the arrangement of the ancient Maison Dieu at Portsmouth, which now forms the garrison church. The hospitals were usually in charge of a warden or master, assisted by nurses. There was a chaplain on the staff, and the inmates were bound to pray daily for their founders and benefactors. The arrangements of the leper-hospitals, or lazarus-houses, was necessarily somewhat different, and usually consisted of separate cells ranged round a central quadrangle, with a chapel, common hall, and detached dwelling for the convalescent.¹

The long list of foundations, whether of collegiate churches or of hospitals, during the cen-

¹ Walcott, *Ancient Church of Scotland*, p. 384.

tury and a half that preceded the Reformation, bears striking testimony to the faith and piety that still animated the hearts of the Scottish people. If the fervour and discipline of the regular orders had in some cases become relaxed, and the number of monastic foundations during this period was in consequence comparatively small, the charity of the faithful did not on that account run dry or cease to flow. It was merely diverted into another channel ; the result being the erection of those numerous institutions which—whether dedicated directly to religious worship, devoted to the cause of Christian education, or to the shelter and succour of the poor, the aged, and the afflicted—alike reflected honour on their pious founders and conferred great and lasting benefits on the country.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DEATH OF CARDINAL BEATON TO THE
SUPPRESSION OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION.

(1546-1560.)

THE sudden death of the Cardinal Archbishop of St Andrews was fraught, it need hardly be said, with the most momentous consequences both for State of Scotland at the death of Cardinal Beaton. Church and State in Scotland. The Regent lost in him, as he wrote to the Pope, his most trusted counsellor, while the Catholic party, who had justly regarded him as their principal champion, were struck with the utmost consternation. The hopes of that faction, on the other hand, who aimed, with the assistance of Henry VIII., at the total abolition of the old religion, were proportionately raised by the removal of their most powerful opponent. The complicity of the English monarch in the assassination of the Cardinal, already sufficiently clear, is further evidenced by his correspondence with Lord Wharton, Warden of the Marches, who, immediately after Beaton's murder, sent him letters which he had received

from his spies in Scotland,¹ containing full particulars of the deed, and urging immediate action on the part of the king. A deputation was about the same time sent to Henry VIII. from the conspirators to ask his assistance in holding the castle of St Andrews against the forces of the Regent. The envoys were favourably received, and Henry sent through one of them, Henry Balnaves, the sum of eleven hundred and eighty pounds to be distributed among the party. They were before long joined in their stronghold by a number of the adherents of the English faction, who feared to fall under suspicion and punishment for complicity in the murder of the Cardinal. Among those who thus sought refuge from justice in the society of rebels and murderers was the arch-reformer John Knox. We must pause for a moment to give some account of this remarkable man, who was henceforth to play so prominent a part in the history of his distracted country.

Rebels in
St An-
drews
Castle.

John Knox. Knox was born at Gifford, in Haddingtonshire, in 1505, of respectable parents of the middle class, and was sent in 1531 to pursue his studies at the University of Glasgow. He earned distinction in the branches of scholastic philosophy and theology, and was in due course ordained to the priesthood. The date of his first professing adherence to the Reformed doctrines is very uncertain; and indeed little or nothing is known of his history previous

¹ *Calendar of State Papers (Scotland)*, vol. i. p. 58.

to the murder of Cardinal Beaton. The statement of Beza that he had some time before been condemned as a heretic and degraded from his orders is not confirmed by any evidence ; and there is little better authority for the assertion of Dr McCrie that he first openly declared himself a Protestant in 1542. However this may be, the fact of his joining the conspirators in the castle of St Andrews was a decisive proof that he had resolved in future to cast his lot with the Protestant cause. He was accompanied thither by the Barons of Long Niddrie and Ormiston and their sons, whose education he conducted, delivering also occasional lectures on the Scriptures to the inmates of the castle. In the intervals between his discourses, the members of his flock, who had grown bolder as the probability of their being dislodged from their stronghold became less, sallied forth into the surrounding country, carrying fire and sword among the terrified inhabitants, and giving themselves up to every sort of intemperance and debauchery.¹ It was from this edifying congregation that John Knox received, as a divine summons, his call to the public ministry. For a time, he tells us, he hesitated to accept, declaring "that he would not run where God had not called him,"² and perhaps doubting, as he well might, the

His call to
the minis-
try.

¹ Such is the testimony of Buchanan, who was at least not prejudiced on the Catholic side.—*Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, 1st ed. (1582), fol. 179.

² *Historie of Reformation*, p. 74.

divine origin of the invitation. The solemn appeal, however, of John Rough, the apostate friar,¹ at length decided him no longer to decline the office, for which we have every reason to suppose that he considered himself eminently fitted ; and accordingly, without further ceremony, being then in the forty-first year of his age, he assumed the public office of a preacher of the new religion.

Reduction
of St An-
drews.

In the meantime the Regent, finding himself unequal to the task of reducing the fortress of St Andrews, appealed to France for assistance. A squadron of sixteen vessels, commanded by Leo Strozzi, a Knight of Rhodes and Prior of Capua, appeared off St Andrews, and the siege of the castle recommenced with such vigour by sea and land that within a week the conspirators were forced to capitulate. They were at once conveyed prisoners to France on board the fleet. Some of them were lodged in dungeons in various parts of Brittany, while others, among whom was John Knox, were chained on the galleys and treated with great severity.

Disaffec-
tion of the
nobles.

The advantage gained by the capture of St Andrews, and the dispersion of the band of cut-throats and fanatics who had taken refuge there, was unfortunately neutralised by the widespread

¹ *Historie of Reformation*, p. 75. “ Brother, in the name of God, and in the name of those that presently call you by my mouth, I charge ye that ye refuse not this holy Vocation, and that ye take upon you the publike office and Charge of Preaching, even as ye looke to avoyd God’s heavy displeasure.”

disaffection among the nobles, more than two hundred of whom had secretly bound themselves to the service of the enemy.¹ Secure of their support, the Duke of Somerset crossed the Border on September 2, 1547, and advanced towards the capital. Such of the nobles as were not dead to all sense of patriotism rallied round the Regent ; but in spite of their gallant stand against the invaders, the Scottish forces were defeated with great loss at Pinkie, near Edinburgh, on the 10th of September. Among the combatants, but themselves unarmed, were a large number of the clergy, who, true to their patriotic resolve, had taken the field in person in defence of their faith and country. Many of them were slain, and the white banner under which they marched—on which was depicted the figure of a female weeping before a crucifix, with the legend *Afflictæ sponsæ ne obliviscaris*—was torn and trampled under foot.

Complete as was his victory, Somerset was not able to follow it up with advantage, owing partly to intrigues which compelled his speedy return to England, and also in great measure to the vigorous and politic measures taken by the queen-mother. Mary of Guise had already secured the person of the young queen in Dumbarton Castle ; and she now proposed, in order to strengthen the

Vigorous
measures
of the
queen-
mother.

¹ The register of their names, with the terms on which they had sold themselves to England, was discovered in the castle of St Andrews on its capture.

bond between the Scotch and their French allies, a marriage between Mary and the Dauphin of France, and also the removal of the queen to the French Court for her education. These proposals so effectually secured the goodwill of France, that in June 1548 a large force of foreign troops landed at Leith, commanded by the Sieur d'Essé, and including three thousand Germans under the Rhinegrave, and a body of Italians led by Leo Strozzi and his brother Peter. A Parliament was at once summoned to meet at Haddington, protected by the French and Scottish armies. The alliance with France was formally renewed, and the marriage of the young queen to the Dauphin agreed upon, as well as the acceptance of the proposal of the French king to receive and educate her in his own Court. On August 7, 1548, she set out from Dumbarton, and safely escaping the English fleet which had been sent to intercept her, landed, after a tempestuous voyage, on the coast of France, which was to be her home for thirteen years, and where she was to know the only unclouded happiness of her melancholy life.

Departure
of the in-
fant queen
for France.

Discomfiture
of the
English.

Supported by their foreign allies, the Scottish forces were now enabled to make a successful stand against the invaders. The English arms were everywhere defeated, and one by one they were forced to abandon their various strongholds in the country, the last relinquished being the

castle of Broughty. Compelled at length to sue for peace, they agreed to evacuate Scotland, and to demolish the forts which they had raised on the Border; and in April 1550, after a war of nine years' duration, peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh. It might doubtless have been concluded considerably sooner had the reins of power been in stronger hands than those of Arran, whose weak and vacillating character, frequent changes of religion, and petty selfishness, had forfeited the respect and confidence of all parties in the State. On April 12, 1554, he resigned the office of the regency, receiving in compensation the dukedom of Chatelherault, and being formally acknowledged as next heir to the crown. The queen-mother, Mary of Guise, was appointed Regent, and at once entered upon the government of the realm. She was a princess of excellent abilities and judgment, of manners at once dignified and engaging, and possessing an intimate knowledge of the people intrusted to her rule. Herself a faithful daughter of the Catholic Church, she directed all her efforts to heal the unhappy divisions, both religious and political, which distracted the nation. The accession of Mary to the English throne, and the restoration of the Catholic religion in that country, were fortunately coincident with the queen-regent's assumption of supreme power; and it was not until the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, and the consequent re-establishment of the

Mary of
Guise ap-
pointed
Regent.

Reformation in England, that fresh complications arose with that country.

Archbishop Hamilton. The murdered Cardinal Beaton was succeeded in the see of *St Andrews* by John Hamilton, Bishop of Dunkeld and Abbot of Paisley, and half-brother to the Regent Arran. The Act of Consistory confirming his nomination is dated November 25, 1547; it dispenses Hamilton from the defect of illegitimacy, and permits him to retain the abbacy of Paisley.¹ Four years later, on the ground of the weak health of the primate, a coadjutor was appointed to the see in the person of Gavin Hamilton, an ecclesiastic of the diocese of Glasgow. Four hundred pounds annually are assigned to him from the archiepiscopal revenues, and he is specially enjoined not to exercise his functions as coadjutor without the express authority of the Archbishop. The commendatorship of the Benedictine monastery of Kilwinning was also granted to him.²

Archbishop Hamilton was succeeded at *Dunkeld* by Robert Crichton, nephew to the former bishop of the same name. The see of *Ross* was practically vacant for several years, as Bishop Panter (the former secretary to the Regent, and a prelate of distinguished learning and talents) remained abroad for several years after his nomination to the bishopric in 1545. He was consecrated in 1552, in Jedburgh Abbey, in the pres-

¹ Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i. p. 127.

² *Ibid.*

ence of the Regent and a number of the nobility. Bishop Panter's successor was Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow and President of the Court of Session. The chapter of *Glasgow*, on the death of Archbishop Gavin Dunbar, elected Alexander Gordon, brother of the Earl of Huntly. In the Act of his institution to the see, dated March 5, 1550, provision is made for the reservation of four hundred gold ducats annually in favour of two clerics of the dioceses of Lyons and Bologna.¹ Gordon received the pallium in the same year, but he was never consecrated. A few months later he resigned the see, and was nominated Archbishop of Athens *in partibus*, with the grant of the Abbey of Inchaffray *in commendam*. On the same day, James Beaton was appointed to the archbishopric of Glasgow. He was only a layman at the time, and was ordained in Rome, and consecrated there on August 28, 1552. The nominal Bishop of the *Isles* at this time was John Campbell, who, however, was never either confirmed or consecrated. Like his predecessors, he was commendator of Iona and Ardchattan.

Unquestionably the most distinguished name in the Scottish hierarchy during those closing years of its existence is that of Robert Reid, Bishop of *Orkney*. The son of a gentleman who fell on the fatal field of Flodden, he received his education first at St Salvator's College at St An-

¹ Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i. p. 155.

drews, and afterwards at the University of Paris. On his return home at the completion of his studies, honours came upon him in rapid succession. He was at once appointed sub-dean, and afterwards official of the diocese of Moray. In 1526 he became commendator of the abbey of Kinloss, and four years later of the priory of Beaulieu.¹ James V. nominated him a Senator of the College of Justice, and in 1550 he succeeded Alexander Mylne as President of that Court. Reid was also frequently employed in diplomatic missions to England, Italy, and France. On one of his visits to the latter country, he persuaded the learned Ferrerius of Piedmont to accompany him to Scotland, and to write the lives of the abbots of Kinloss.² On July 20, 1541, Paul III. appointed Reid to the vacant bishopric of Orkney, charging the revenue of the see with a pension of twenty pounds in favour of a youthful cleric named James Thornton, a boy of fourteen, and another of eighty marks to John Stuart,

¹ Bishop Reid rebuilt the priory from the foundations, and he also erected the nave of the priory church. His arms (a stag's head, with a crosier issuing from the antlers) and initials are still to be seen above the west door. The learned author of the *History of Beaulieu Priory* (p. 219) supposes, from the addition of the crosier, that the nave was built during Reid's episcopate. He would, however, be entitled to use the crosier as Abbot of Kinloss. Ferrerius gives the date as 1540.—TRANSLATOR.

² Ferrerius remained for several years at Kinloss. During his stay there he instructed the younger monks of Beaulieu, whom the abbot brought to Kinloss for the purpose, in Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil, and other authors.—TRANSLATOR.

an illegitimate son of James V., also described as a cleric, although only in his eighth year.¹ The new bishop was consecrated in Edinburgh on the first Sunday of Advent, 1541, and thenceforward we find him devoting himself unweariedly to the care and improvement of his remote diocese. He restored the venerable cathedral of St Magnus at Kirkwall, and established there a school for the youth of the islands. He also made a new erection of the cathedral chapter, which was to consist of seven dignitaries, the first being a provost (not a dean, as was usually the case), seven canons or prebendaries, thirteen chaplains, a sacristan, and six choristers. The details of this foundation, which is of peculiar interest, as the last before the overthrow of the Scottish Church, are given in the Appendix.² The charter of erection is dated on October 28, 1544, and it was confirmed by Cardinal Beaton in June of the following year. In 1557, Bishop Reid, together with the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Ross, first Secretary of State, Lords Cassillis, Rothes, Fleming, and Seton, the Prior of St Andrews, and Erskine of Dun, were commissioned by the Estates of Scotland to go to France to witness the espousals of Queen Mary with the Dauphin. They were also present at the solemnisation of the marriage on April 24,

Re-erection
of Kirk-
wall.

¹ Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i. pp. 151, 152.

² Appendix III.

1558, in the cathedral of Notre Dame. While they were on their return home, in September of the same year, the Bishop of Orkney died at Dieppe, after a very brief illness.¹ The sudden death, at the same time and place, of three more of the Scottish commissioners, awoke a suspicion, which, however, is not confirmed by any evidence, that they had been poisoned through the agency of the princes of Lorraine, whose schemes had been thwarted by the marriage of Mary to the Dauphin.²

Bishop Reid left by his will certain sums to be applied for the education of the sons of poor gentlemen at the Scottish universities, and also for the education of young gentlewomen. He likewise bequeathed eight thousand merks for the foundation of a college in Edinburgh. The money was for some time appropriated by the Regent Morton, but was at length (in 1581) applied by the magistrates of Edinburgh to the purchase of a site on which were erected the University buildings. Bishop Reid may therefore be justly

¹ No monument was ever erected to this illustrious prelate in his native land. He lies buried in the chapel of St Andrew, in St James's Church, at Dieppe, where a copper tablet, set up in 1870, bears an inscription to his memory.—TRANSLATOR.

² "Knox," says Mr Grub (*Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 42, note), "relates the death of the Bishops of Galloway, Ross, and Orkney [they all died in the course of the same year], in language which would be unbecoming, even if the circumstances mentioned were true. The utter falsehood of the charge against Bishop Reid may well make us suspect the correctness of what he tells us of the other two."

regarded as the founder of Edinburgh University.¹ His successor in the see of Orkney was James Bothwell. He was duly appointed by Paul IV.,² and took possession of the temporalities, but never received consecration. Bothwell afterwards conformed to Protestantism. He performed the ceremony of marriage (according to the Protestant rite) between Queen Mary and his namesake, the Earl of Bothwell, in May 15, 1567, and two months later he crowned the infant king James VI., anointing him, to the intense disgust of John Knox. Bothwell accompanied the Regent Moray in 1568 to York as one of the commissioners against the Queen. He died in 1593, and was buried in the nave of Holyrood Abbey Church.

¹ Mr Cosmo Innes, writing in the *Quarterly Review* (vol. lxxii. pp. 393, 394), pays an eloquent tribute to the virtues, learning, and piety of the last Catholic Bishop of Orkney, and to the "blessed influence" which he exercised over his remote diocese. The accomplished writer concludes his article in words which are well worth quoting, as the judgment of a non-Catholic Scottish scholar nearly half a century ago. Speaking of the recently published records of the Scottish Church, he says: "The student of these records has in his hands the evidence of a system of government by due gradations, and with internal discipline of admirable organisation and efficacy, which during ages of civil violence and misrule saved the Church almost free from the insubordination and the calamities that distracted the realm. While he fully appreciates the manifold blessings of the Reformation, he may be excused for withdrawing his eyes for a while from those grisly fathers of the Kirk, whose faults as well as their virtues have become hallowed for the popular imagination, till the nation—clergy and laity—seems to forget that Christianity existed before Knox, and exists beyond Scotland." —*Ibid.*, p. 397.—TRANSLATOR.

² Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i. p. 152.

Ten months after the death of Cardinal Beaton, a convention of the clergy assembled at Edinburgh, and petitioned the Regent and his Council to enforce the laws against the followers of Luther, who now boldly and openly preached their heretical doctrines in the very presence of the Court itself. The petition was favourably received, and the assistance of the secular power promised in the suppression of heresy according to the laws of the realm.¹ At the same convention a canon was passed, agreeably to the decree enacted by the Council of Trent in the previous year, enjoining that there should be a licentiate or doctor of divinity in every cathedral church, to expound the Holy Scriptures to the people.² Accordingly, in the following July we find the Bishop of Aberdeen appointing John Watson, licentiate of divinity, to lecture twice a-week in theology, in the cathedral, and to preach there once a-month to the people, and once a-year in each of the capitular churches of the diocese.³

Convention
of the
clergy.

In August 1549, Archbishop Hamilton summoned a convention of the clergy at Linlithgow. Several statutes were enacted, which were confirmed by subsequent Provincial Councils. Three months later a Provincial National Council met, under the presidency of the same prelate, in the

¹ Robertson, *Statuta*, p. cxlii.

² Conc. Trident., *Canon. et Decret.*, sess. v. cap. 1.

³ *Regist. Episc. Aberdon.*, vol. i. pp. 317-320.

Blackfriars' Church at Edinburgh. Sixty ecclesiastics were present at it, including the bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, Galloway, Dunblane, Orkney, and Argyle; the vicars-general of Glasgow and Dunkeld, which sees were vacant; fourteen abbots, commendators or priors; seven doctors of divinity, of whom two, owing to age and infirmity, were represented by proxy;¹ three Dominicans and four Franciscans; besides deans, provosts, canons, and others. Among the more distinguished members of the synod were the learned and pious Bishop of Orkney, of whom we have already spoken; Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, the zealous and able champion of the Faith against Knox and Willock; and Winram, sub-prior of St Andrews, afterwards a superintendent of the Protestant Church. Another prominent figure was that of James, the commendatory prior of St Andrews, the future Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland, and leader of the Reformation, at this time a youth of eighteen.

Mass having been solemnly sung, the sessions of the Council commenced in the refectory of the convent—for “the Scottish Provincial Council, like the Scottish Parliament, knowing no distinction of houses, sat in one chamber”²—and the pro-

¹ One of these was John Mair, the former preceptor of Knox and Buchanan, and author of a History of Scotland. Robertson (*Statuta*, p. cxlviii) seems to imply that Mair was present in person, which was not the case.—TRANSLATOR.

² Robertson, *Statuta*, p. cxlviii.

ceedings opened by the preaching of a sermon to the assembled fathers. The statutes of the convention of Linlithgow, having been read by the secretary and notary, were confirmed by the Council, and a number of new ones enacted. The following is a summary of the canons passed at this important assembly :—

Statutes of
the Pro-
vincial
Council of
1549.

1. Considering the grave scandal which has been caused to the Church by the incontinence of the clergy, it is enacted that the decree of the Council of Basle *De Concubinariis* is to be strictly enforced with all its provisions, which are to apply also in the case of convents of nuns.
2. The clergy are not to keep their illegitimate children with them in their houses, to promote them to benefices, nor to enrich them from the patrimony of the Church.
3. The clergy are forbidden to mix themselves up with secular or mercantile business, to the neglect of their spiritual duties.
4. Round hats and garments of befitting shape and colour (not yellow, green, or other unbecoming hue) to be worn by ecclesiastics. Short coats are not permitted to be worn in towns or villages, or in the church, but only when on a journey.
5. Beards are forbidden to the clergy, and the proper tonsure is to be worn.
6. Prelates and other ecclesiastics are enjoined to keep a frugal and temperate table, shunning superfluous delicacies, that they may be able to give more to the poor. They are also carefully to observe the fasts of the

Church, and not to scandalise the laity by their evil example. 7. The clergy are to observe the decree of the third Council of Toledo, which enjoins the reading of Holy Scripture during meals. 8. Prelates and other ecclesiastics are in future to wear garments of befitting colour, and made of wool rather than of silk. 9. Prelates are not to keep in their service gamblers, fornicators, drunkards, brawlers, blasphemers, or profane swearers, but Catholics of approved life and character, who may be an example to the good and a terror to the wicked, "since," as saith St Bonaventura, "the evil conduct of the household is the shame of the master."¹ 10. The Ordinaries are at once to make a visitation of the monasteries of the canons-regular, and other non-exempt houses, and of the convents of nuns, and to report to the next Council thereupon. With regard to exempt monasteries, inquiry is to be made in the surrounding parishes as to the common opinion concerning their religious observance, the state of their buildings, and their manner of administering their property, and report to be made to the next Council accordingly. In cases of houses claiming exemption, the number of religious must be fur-

¹ "Quum insolentia familiæ patrisfamilias dedecus videtur." We have the impartial testimony of George Buchanan (*Epigramm.*, lib. i. No. 43) that in this respect good Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow was a model to his brother prelates:—

"Splendida cœna, epulæ lautæ ambitione remota. . . .
Doctrina, ingenio, simplicitate, fide.
Ipse alios supra facundo prominent ore."

Statutes of
the Pro-
vincial
Council of
1549.

Statutes of
the Pro-
vincial
Council of
1549.

nished, and commendators must bring to the next Council their letters of appointment, that the extent of their obligations and privileges may be clearly known. Meanwhile all abbots, priors, and other superiors are earnestly expected to labour for the reform of monastic discipline, which has so greatly fallen away, and to strive to return to the fervour of primitive times, that so religion may flourish, and the murmurs of the people may be stopped. 11. Abbots and other religious superiors are to use all diligence in procuring the return of fugitives to the monastery; calling in, if necessary, the assistance of the bishop, and of the secular authority. 12. Prioresses are in like manner to see that all nuns who have left the cloister are brought back as speedily as possible. 13. Those guilty of notorious crimes are to be first charitably admonished by the bishops, and if this is ineffectual, to be subjected to all the censures of the Church, including interdict; the aid of the secular arm being invoked if necessary. 14. In order to put an end to the scandal of deans and other visitors receiving bribes for hushing up public and heinous offences, they are henceforth, before entering upon their office, to take an oath to administer it faithfully. 15. According to the injunctions of the Council of Trent, every Ordinary is to preach publicly at least four times in the year; and if unaccustomed to this duty, they are to fit themselves for it by study, and by receiving

Statutes of
the Pro-
vincial
Council of
1549.

into their houses men skilled in sacred learning.¹ 16. The decrees of the above-mentioned Council regarding the appointment of masters of grammar, and of lecturers in theology and Sacred Scripture, and also respecting preachers of the Word of God and questors of alms,² are to be strictly enforced. 17. Rectors of parishes, who in the judgment of the Ordinary are competent for the office, are to preach at least four times a-year. Those unable to preach are to fit themselves for so doing by study in the public seminaries, in the meantime appointing, with the approval of the Ordinary, substitutes at their own cost. 18. There is to be attached to every cathedral a theologian and a canonist : the former to lecture at least once a-week on Sacred Scripture, and to preach in the cathedral and other churches, in presence (if they

¹ Concil. Trident., *Canon. et Decret.*, sess. xxiv. cap. 4.

² *Ibid.*, sess. v. caps. 1, 2. The decay of preaching was a favourite theme of the reformers and satirists of the time. Richardson, in his *Exeges. in Canon. Div. Augustini*, already mentioned (foll. 188, 189), writes : “Prælati certe sunt ut canes muti, non valentes in claustro latrare ; incedunt cum regibus et magnatibus in urbibus et palatiis, unde non auditur eorum vox in claustro.” So Dunbar (*Poems*, vol. ii. p. 24) :—

“ Sic pryd with Prellatis, so few till preiche and pray,
Within this land was never hard nor sene.”

And Lindsay, in his drama on the Three Estates (*Poetical Works*, vol. i. p. 345) :—

“ Ane Bisshopis office is for to be ane preichour,
And of the law of God ane publick teichour.
Richt sa, the Parsone unto his parochoun
Of the Evangell suld leir thame ane lessoun.
Thare suld na man desyre sic dignities,
Without he be abill for that office.”

—ROBERTSON, *Statuta*, p. 288.

Statutes of
the Pro-
vincial
Council of
1549.

will) of the bishop and canons ; the latter to lecture on ecclesiastical law to the canons and other clergy. The Ordinary is to assign to these lecturers benefices of the value of a hundred pounds and a hundred merks respectively. 19. There is also to be in each monastery a theologian (either a religious or a secular) who is to lecture every day on sacred science, and to preach in the monastery church, receiving for his support a benefice of a hundred merks. 20. Every monastery is to send a certain number of subjects to one or other of the national universities to study theology for at least four years.¹ 21. The method and form of preaching is laid down : first, the exposition of the epistle or gospel ; and secondly, catechetical instruction. 22. Scripture is to be taught and interpreted according to the sense of the Catholic Church and the ancient doctors, and theological lectures are to be given on the Master of the Sentences (Peter Lombard), St Thomas Aquinas, St Bonaventura, and other approved authors. 23. Rectors of universities are to take care that no one be admitted to study arts or dialectics until examined and found proficient in grammar and Latin. The Archdeacon of St Andrews is to provide a competent master of good character for the grammar-school there. 24. Candidates for ordi-

¹ A detailed list follows of the various monasteries, and the number of religious to be sent by each. St Andrews and Dunfermline only are to send three, and the other houses one or two of their members.

nation must have the necessary qualifications—Statutes of
the Pro-
vincial
Council of
1549. virtue, sufficient learning, and a title, amounting to at least twenty pounds Scots. Clerics ordained by foreign bishops are not to be permitted to exercise their functions until examined and found competent. 25. Inasmuch as very many of the parochial clergy have been found not to be properly qualified for the cure of souls, they are all to undergo an examination before the end of the present year, in presence of the Ordinary or his commissioners, on the various duties of their office. Those who do not appear will be removed from their cures. 26. Residence is strictly enjoined on all beneficed and pensioned clergy, on pain of deprivation; and they likewise are to be examined by the bishop. 27. Only those are to accept a benefice or cure who are able and willing faithfully to execute the duties attached to it.¹ 28. They should be of lawful age, approved character, sufficient learning, and in holy orders. An

¹ An instructive commentary on this and the succeeding regulation is furnished by the following extract from the *Gratulatorius panegyricus* (Paris, 1540), addressed by Archibald Hay to Cardinal Beaton on his elevation to the Sacred College: “Quam multos videmus, qui post exactos scurriliter annos, post consumptum in rebus turpissimis ætatis florem, ad primates ecclesiæ confugiunt, ut in ignaviæ sue patrocinium atque ad senectutem luxuriose transgendant, pingue sacerdotium obtineant. . . . Plurimos aliquando beneficiorum multitudine onerabant, quorum in sermo, ea erat vita, ut dubium fuerit, Christianine fuerint an Ethnici.”—(Foll. 33, 35.) Hay was Principal of St Mary’s College, St Andrews, from 1542 until his death in 1547. For other contemporary testimonies on the same subject, see Robertson, *Statuta*, pp. 290-293.

income of at least twenty pounds annually is to be secured to all vicars and others having the cure of souls, that they may be able freely to execute their office. 29. The decrees of the Council of Trent regarding the holding of pluralities only under certain specified conditions, of the visitation by Ordinaries of united benefices and of all churches, even exempt,¹ are ordered to be strictly observed. 30. The parochial clergy are either to serve their cures in person, or to provide a competent substitute, who is to be approved by the Ordinary. 31. The testaments and inventories of the property of persons deceased to be properly registered, and the executors to give an annual account of their administration to the bishop's commissaries. These regulations are in future to apply in the diocese of Orkney as well as in the rest of Scotland. 32. All notaries are to be examined by the Ordinary or his commissaries, and those found incompetent are to be suspended. The protocols of deceased notaries are to be preserved by the official of each diocese. 33. The Ordinaries are to make strict inquisition into the state of the hospitals, chaplaincies, and other religious foundations in their dioceses, examining, where possible, the charters of foundation, and providing that the objects therein specified are duly carried out. 34. In the presentation to benefices, proper precautions are to

¹ Concil. Trident., *Canon. et Decret.*, sess. vii. caps. 4-8.

be taken to protect the rights of the patron and to prevent disputes. 35. A detailed catalogue is given of the benefices which are to be applied by the various dioceses and monasteries to the benefit of the preachers. The list includes thirty-five—twelve for the dioceses, and twenty-three for the monasteries. Those superiors who have no benefice at their disposal are to pay suitable pensions instead. The ancient custom is to be observed of commencing the sermon with a *Pater Noster* and the Angelic Salutation,¹ for the divine blessing on the preaching, and concluding it with a prayer for the faithful departed. 36. The bishops are to appoint in every diocese pious and learned theologians, to make diligent inquisition as to heresies, especially those against the doctrine of the sacraments and condemned books,² and to report thereon to the Ordinaries. Religious superiors are to do the same in their respective monasteries and convents. 37. The Ordinaries

Statutes of
the Pro-
vincial
Council of
1549.

¹ Erasmus, we need not be surprised to find, has a sneer for this venerable and pious practice. "Non est probabile," he remarks, "eam consuetudinem a gravibus viris inductam, sed ab inepto quopiam, qui quod didicerat apud poetas propositioni succedere invocationem pro Musa supposuit Mariam."—(*Opera*, tom. ix. coll. 1165.) Quoted by Robertson, *Statuta*, p. 295.

² *Acts of the Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. ii. pp. 488, 489. An Act passed in 1551 forbade "bukis concerning the faith, ballatis, sangis, blasphematiounis, rymes alsweill of kirkmen as temporall and utheris, tragedeis alsweill in Latine as in Inglis toung," under pain of confiscation or banishment. Bishop Leslie bears testimony that the dissemination of heretical literature was largely employed in order to propagate the Protestant doctrines.

Statutes of
the Pro-
vincial
Council of
1549.

are to proceed against heretical persons according to the prescriptions of the sacred canons. 38. The bishops and other clergy are exhorted for the love of Christ to reform their own manner of life in accordance with the statutes of this present Council ; so that while endeavouring to correct others, they may not be the cause of scandal and further relapses by their own bad example. 39. Rectors of churches and other ecclesiastics are to strive zealously for the preaching of the pure Word of God, and the proper performance of the rites of the Church, while false doctrine is to be publicly confuted and condemned. For this end abbots, priors, and other superiors are to make arrangements for a certain number of their religious to preach at intervals in the parish churches. 40. The parish priests are to note down the number of times that the religious preach in their churches, and to report to the bishop accordingly ; and they are, moreover, to give notice of the sermons beforehand to their parishioners, in order to secure a good attendance. 41. Some of the heretical tenets are enumerated against which inquisition is specially to be made, and preachers are to instruct and caution their hearers. These include (1) speaking against the sacraments (especially the sacrifice of the mass), and the rites and ceremonies connected with their administration ; (2) contemning the censures of the Church ; (3) denying the beatitude of the saints in heaven,

(4) the immortality of the soul, (5) future reward for works of faith and charity, (6) the prayers and intercession of the saints, (7) the lawfulness of images in Christian churches, and (8) the authority of General Councils in dogmatic decrees; (9) opposing any of the decrees of General or Provincial Councils; (10) the non-observance of the fasts and festivals of the Church. 42. Regulations as to the conduct of proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts. 43. Indiction of the next Provincial Council for the 14th of August next following.¹

There is no record of any Council having met on the date just mentioned. One, however, was assembled by the Primate in January 1552, in the Blackfriars' Church at Edinburgh. Its first care was to re-enact a number of the more important canons passed by the previous Council, which, owing to the difficulties of the times, had not yet taken effect. Various new statutes were also enacted, including the following: 1. Sentence in matrimonial causes not to be pronounced by the officials or commissioners of any diocese, until the question has been duly discussed and weighed by the Ordinary. Witnesses in such cases are to be examined with all possible care and diligence; and the depositions of witnesses belonging to other dioceses must be duly attested by their Ordinaries, or their officials or commis

Statutes of
the Pro-
vincial
Council of
1549.

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1552.

Statutes of
the Pro-
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Council of
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¹ Robertson, *Statuta*, pp. 81-127.

Statutes of
the Pro-
vincial
Council of
1552.

saries.¹ 2. Attention is called to the widely prevalent neglect of the divine mysteries, and the small attendance at mass and sermon on Sundays and holy days, even in the most populous parishes. The names of absentees are to be carefully noted by the clergy, and reported to the deans, with a view to the due punishment of the offenders. Irreverence and buffoonery in church during the sermon, and games and secular traffic carried on in the porch and the churchyard, are to be rigidly suppressed. 3. The statute regarding the visitation of hospitals is to be put in force before the Michaelmas next following. 4. The censures of the Church having lost much of their terrors through the corruption of the times, it is ordered, with a view to the revival of their due effect, that the names of excommunicated persons, of whatever position or rank, be inscribed in the parish books, and published every Sunday without fear or favour. 5. Further, the names of those under excommunication for twenty days are to be affixed to the church doors and other public places, and there to remain until they are absolved. 6. The clergy, at the beginning of divine service, are to read out the names of the excom-

¹ This statute was directed against the facility of divorce, which had grown into an abuse. Archbishop Hamilton reported to Rome in 1554, "Ut multi . . . nulla dispensatione obtenta matrimonium contrahant cum suis consanguineis . . . postea mutatis propositis vel querunt divortia vel rejiciunt uxores" (*Lib. Official. S. Andr.*, pp. 164, 165; cited by Robertson, *Statuta*, p. 297).

Statutes of
the Pro-
vincial
Council of
1552.

municated, and call upon them to withdraw, warning them that in case of refusal they incur a censure reserved to the Supreme Pontiff, as well as the penalties provided by Act of Parliament. 7. The alienation, or letting out on long lease, of Church property, with the object of enriching themselves or their friends and relations, and the consequent impoverishment of their successors, is strictly prohibited to all rectors and vicars. 8. Former statutes forbidding clandestine marriages are confirmed and ratified. In future every proclamation of banns is to be carefully registered by the parish priest, as also every baptism, with the names of the child, its parents and godparents, and the date, attested by two witnesses. These registers are to be reckoned among the most valuable possessions of the Church.¹ 9. Any priest officiating at a clandestine marriage to be imprisoned for a year on bread and water, and suspended for three years; while the contracting parties are to undergo such penalty as the bishop may impose. 10. Considering how urgently the office of preaching the Word of God has been enjoined by Christ, the Chief Shepherd, on the pastors of His flock; considering, moreover, that the horrible heresies which have sprung up of late years in various parts of the realm, have now, by

¹ No mention is here made of registers of deaths. These, however, had been ordered to be kept nearly two hundred years before, in a diocesan synod of St Andrews held in the fourteenth century. See *ante*, p. 39.—TRANSLATOR.

Statutes of
the Pro-
vincial
Council of
1552.

the providence of God, the help of the State, and the vigilance of the Church, been almost suppressed; and having regard, finally, to the fact that neither the prelates nor the inferior clergy of the kingdom are, as a rule, sufficiently learned properly to instruct the people in the faith, or to convert those in error,—the Council decrees that a catechism is to be compiled for the instruction of the clergy as well as of their flocks, written in the Scottish tongue, and drawn up by the most learned prelates and theologians of the Scottish Church. It is to be printed and published in the name of the Primate and the Provincial Council now sitting, and is to contain a brief, clear, and Catholic explanation of the Ten Commandments, the articles of faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, as well as an exposition of the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation. The archbishop is to deliver a sufficient number of copies of the catechism, when printed, to the clergy of his own diocese, and also to the other bishops, for distribution among their rectors, vicars, and curates. Copies are not to be given indiscriminately to laymen, but only to such grave, well-disposed, and discreet persons as the bishop may approve, and who desire instruction rather than the gratification of mere curiosity. The clergy are further directed every Sunday and holy day,¹ before high

¹ “Omnibus Dominicis et festivis diebus.” Curiously rendered by Professor Mitchell in his preface to the catechism (Edin. 1882), “on

mass, to read to the people out of the catechism in a clear, distinct, and articulate manner, for the space of half an hour, vested in surplice and stole, without adding, changing, or omitting anything whatever. They are, moreover, enjoined not to mount the pulpit unprepared, but frequently to rehearse beforehand what they are going to read, so that they may not by stammering and stammering become a laughing-stock to their hearers. All controversy between priest and people regarding what is read is forbidden under severe penalties; and any neglect of these various points on the part of the clergy is to be visited by fine and imprisonment, diligent inquisition on the subject being made by the deans in their visitations. The reading of the catechism is only to be dispensed with on such days as there is a public sermon delivered by a religious or other preacher.¹

In accordance with the decree of the Council, the Catechism was drawn up, and appeared in August 1552, some seven months after the meeting of

all dominical and festival days" (p. ii). The very meaning of the "Lord's Day" would seem to have disappeared before the all-pervading presence of the Scottish Sabbath.—TRANSLATOR.

¹ The regulation against the unrestricted use of the catechism by the faithful has been remarked by some writers with disapprobation. Protestant objectors, however, will do well to remember that the two catechisms of Luther were not compiled, any more than that of Archbishop Hamilton, for the indiscriminate perusal of the laity. In the prefaces, Luther addresses himself particularly to the clergy; and the headings of the chapters show that the catechism was intended to be read aloud, by fathers of families and others, for purposes of instruction.

Statutes of
the Pro-
vincial
Council of
1552.

The Cate-
chism of
Archbishop
Hamilton.

the Council. Very few copies are extant of the original edition of the work,¹ to which singular interest attaches, both as a memorial of the Scottish Church on the eve of the Reformation, and a monument of the Scottish tongue in the middle of the sixteenth century. The full title runs thus:—

“THE CATECHISME—That is to say, ane cōmone and catholik instructioun of the christin people in materis of our catholik faith and religioun, quhilk na gud christin man or woman suld misknaw: set furth be ye maist reverend father in God, Johne, Archbishop of sanct Androus, Legatnait and primat of ye kirk of Scotland, in his provincial counsale, haldin at Edinburgh, the xxvi day of Januarie, the ȝeir of our Lord 1551, with the aduise and counsale of the bischoppis and uthir prelatis, with doctours of Theologie and Canon law of the said realme of Scotland present for the tyme.”

Then follows a sentence from St Augustine,² translated thus: “Agane reasone na sober man, agane scripture na christin man, agane the kirk na peaceabil or quiet man will judge, or hald opinioun.”

¹ A copy belonging to the late Dr Laing was sold for £148. That in the Fort Augustus library is a small quarto of 438 pages (two pages of the errata and the colophon being wanting), in what appears to be the original binding. It was brought in 1860 from the suppressed Scottish Abbey of St James at Ratisbon. The Catechism has been twice reprinted within the last ten years: once, in facsimile, in 1882 (Edin., Paterson); and again in 1884, with a preface by the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone.—TRANSLATOR.

² “Contra rationem nemo sobrius, contra scripturam nemo Christianus, contra ecclesiam nemo pacificus senserit.”—St Aug., *De Trinitate*, l. iv. c. 6.

On the next page are some Latin stanzas, addressed "Ad pium Lectorem." Next comes the general introduction, in the form of an address from the Primate to the Scottish clergy, and a copious table of contents. After a short prologue follows the Catechism proper, in which are contained an exposition of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the seven sacraments, and instructions on prayer, especially the Our Father,¹ on the Angelic Salutation, and on praying to saints and for departed souls. The Catechism concludes with an exhortation to the clergy to study and read it with all care and diligence, and to the people to hear it attentively, notwithstanding that it is less full and perfect than might be desired.

The plea of hasty compilation implied in the last words might well be accepted, considering the circumstances of the times, and the steady inroads of heresy on all sides. The Catechism is nevertheless complete as far as it goes, and bears little mark of haste about its composition. The style is clear and simple, the theological definitions accurate and well expressed, and supported by numerous citations from Scripture and the fathers. The tone of the whole work is, in fine, unmistakably Catholic, and no impartial reader can peruse its pages without the conviction that the Scottish Church remained to the last uncompromisingly

¹ A specimen of these instructions will be found in Appendix IV.

true and loyal to the ancient faith.¹ It is not known who was the actual author of the Catechism, but it has been very generally attributed to Winram, sub-prior of St Andrews.²

We may close our notice of this remarkable work by citing the testimony to its value given by two prominent Protestant historians. "No divine at this day," wrote Bishop Keith a century and a half ago,³ "need be ashamed of such a work. . . . It appears that whoever slighted this book, have been resolved to slight everything that should come from such a hand. This composure, tho' there were none else, shows that the clergy in those days have not been such dunces as some people would make us apprehend." And Mr Hill Burton, in his *History of Scotland*,⁴ says: "The

¹ Mr Gladstone, in his prefatory note to Mr Law's edition of the Catechism, emphasises the absence from its pages of any instructions on the authority of the Pope, and implies that the Scottish Church of 1551 was not indisposed to dispense with him. There is no ground, we need hardly say, for such a supposition. Whatever may have been thought of the Pope's temporal interference, his spiritual jurisdiction as head of the Church was unquestioned, at least by Catholics. If it is not insisted upon in the Catechism, it could only be because no one dreamed of disputing it.—TRANSLATOR.

² Winram's authorship has been questioned, owing to the discovery of an old catalogue of the library of St Leonard's College, in which the Catechism of Winram is entered as a separate work from that of Archbishop Hamilton. It is probable, however, as Professor Mitchell has pointed out (Pref. to Catechism, p. xvii), that the Catechism described as Winram's is merely his original draft of Hamilton's. Otherwise we must suppose that every copy of Winram's own work has disappeared.—TRANSLATOR.

³ *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 63, note (d).

⁴ Vol. iv. pp. 43, 44.

Catechism is a fine piece of composition, full of a spirit of charity and gentleness. It carefully avoids whatever might irritate those who have a remnant of the old faith, by which they might still be drawn back."

The Catechism of Archbishop Hamilton must not be confused (as has been done by various writers¹) with the *Godlie Exhortatioun* published by the authority of the Primate in 1558, and ordered to be read by the clergy to the faithful before administering to them the Holy Communion. This little treatise, which according to Knox² was known among the people as *The Twapenny Faith*, probably from the price charged for it by itinerant pedlars, consists of only four pages, black-letter, printed by John Scott in St Andrews. It contains a brief exposition of the doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament, urges on the faithful the duty of communicating worthily, and concludes by an exhortation to the clergy to see that their parishioners are duly prepared for Holy Communion.

¹ Spottiswood, *History*, vol. i. p. 182. Keith, *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 63, note (d).

² *Historie*, p. 119. The only original copy known to exist of the *Godlie Exhortatioun*, which is a tract of four pages (black-letter), is one bound with a number of other tracts, for many years in the possession of the Catholic priest at Dumfries. This volume is now at Blairs College. The *Exhortatioun* was reprinted in facsimile in the *Bannatyne Miscellany* (vol. iii.), and it is also published in Robertson's *Statuta* (p. 177) at the end of the decrees of the Provincial Council of 1558-59.—TRANSLATOR.

The pro-
gress of
Protestant-
ism.

Condemna-
tion and
death of
Wallace.

The strenuous efforts made by the rulers of the Scottish Church for the reformation of discipline and the instruction of the people in the doctrines of the faith seem to have stemmed for a time the advance of the innovators. From the death of Cardinal Beaton until the year 1553 we do not hear of any noteworthy preachers of Protestantism. One illiterate peasant from Ayrshire, named Adam Wallace, took upon himself to come forward as a champion of the new doctrines. He was tried in Edinburgh in the autumn of 1550, on a charge of teaching heresy; and refusing to abjure his errors, was condemned to death. On the accession of Mary to the English throne in 1553, the Protestant cause in Scotland was strengthened by the flight from England of a number of the preachers, who were no longer safe in that country under a Catholic queen. Among these were John Willock and John Douglas, both apostate friars, also William Harlow, a tailor from Edinburgh, and a Dundee baker named Methven. Willock had been a Dominican or Franciscan at Ayr, and afterwards chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk in England. Subsequently he went to Friesland, where he practised medicine, and whence he was despatched to Scotland on a political mission to the queen-dowager. The arrival of these preachers in Scotland doubtless encouraged the Protestant party in that country, who, however, did not yet venture to assemble in public.

We must now return to John Knox, whom we left serving his term of punishment at the French galleyes, to which he had been condemned as an accessory after the fact to the murder of Cardinal Beaton. He was released in February 1549, by the intercession of King Edward VI., and immediately betook himself to the Court of that monarch, where he received a formal commission to preach the Protestant doctrines. For two years he exercised his ministry at Berwick-on-Tweed ; and so violent were his invectives against the Catholic faith, and especially against the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, that he was summoned in 1550 to answer for his language before the Court of the Bishop of Durham. In the following year the returned convict was appointed a chaplain-in-ordinary to Edward VI., and was likewise offered the bishopric of Rochester, which, however, he had the grace to decline. He was consulted as to the revision of the Protestant Articles of Religion, and it is said to have been at his suggestion that the “Black Rubric,” on the question of kneeling during Communion, was inserted in the Book of Common Prayer.

During the year 1553 Knox continued to preach in the middle and south of England. When, however, shortly after Mary's accession to the throne, the laws against heresy were re-enacted and put in force, he judged discretion to be the better part of valour, and quitted the country. He be-

Release of
Knox from
the galleys.

Knox at
Geneva.

took himself first to Geneva, where he formed an intimate acquaintance with Calvin, then at the height of his reputation. The disposition of Knox, naturally gloomy and ungenial, had become, as we gather from his letters written at this period, further embittered by the recent events of his life, and the consciousness of his cowardice in absenting himself from Scotland at this critical time. His residence at Geneva confirmed his attachment to the rigid and repellent religious system associated with the name of Calvin, and that system found in him henceforth a stanch and devoted adherent. During his stay at Geneva, Knox received an invitation to accept the charge of the English Protestant congregation at Frankfort-on-the-Main. He complied with the call, but not without reluctance, foreseeing, doubtless, that his position would be a difficult one. In truth, it was not long before his relations with his new flock turned out to be far from satisfactory. A question arose as to the adoption of the Book of Common Prayer ; and as may be imagined, the predilection of Knox for the bald and simple form of worship in use at Geneva did not incline him to sympathise with those of his congregation who preferred to adopt the semi-Catholic service-book of Edward VI.¹ The feel-

¹ The details of the contest between the more liturgical portion of the Frankfort congregation, who, led by Dr Cox (former tutor to Edward VI.), advocated the use of the Anglican service-book, and

ing against Knox, already high, was greatly increased by the publication of his "Faithful Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England," a work in which he inveighed against Queen Mary and her counsellors in language that was condemned even by the leading Protestants themselves. In March 1555, Knox found himself compelled to resign his charge at Frankfort. Returning to Geneva, he ministered for a time to the English congregation there. Meanwhile he received more favourable accounts of the progress and prospects of Protestantism in his native country; and deeming it now safe to return, he left Geneva in August, and arrived in Edinburgh in the course of the following month. It seems to have been about this time that he married Marjory Bowes, a person of respectable English family.

His arrival
in Edin-
burgh.

It was the policy of the Regent, Mary of Guise, not to molest the adherents of the new doctrines, so long as they did not preach in public or disturb the peace of the realm. We find Knox accordingly confining his ministrations for the present to private houses. Among those who resorted to his sermons were Erskine of Dun, who was said to be a man of more than average attainments, Sir James Sandilands, commonly called

the party of Geneva, although not without interest, hardly belong to Scottish ecclesiastical history. They are narrated at some length by Weber (*Geschichten der akatolischen Sekten*), vol. ii, pp. 481 seq.

Lord St John, Archibald Lord Lorn (afterwards Earl of Argyll), Lord James, half-brother to the Queen, the Earl of Glencairn, and the Earl Marshall. Some of these, although favouring the Protestant tenets, hesitated to break off entirely from the ancient Church, and still continued to attend Mass. Knox vehemently opposed this course, and a warm disputation took place between the reformer and Maitland of Lethington as to whether it could be permitted. Maitland defended the practice by the example of St James and the elders of Jerusalem, who are related in the Acts of the Apostles to have counselled St Paul to pay his vows in the temple. Knox refused to admit the parallel. The paying of vows, he said, was sometimes commanded by God, whereas the Mass was and always had been “odious idolatry.” He did not scruple to add that he greatly doubted whether the advice of St James came from the Holy Ghost, but was not rather a “worldly wise counsell” of his own.¹ These arguments, such as they were, seem to have been effectual, and the Mass, Knox tells us, “now began to be abhorred of such as before used it.” Not long after this conference the reformer visited Erskine at Dun, in Angus, and he afterwards resided for a time with Sir James Sandilands at Calder, in Lothian. About Easter-time in the following year (1556) we find him adminis-

¹ Knox, *Historie*, p. 100.

tering the Communion at the house of the Earl of Glencairn, on the Clyde, and a little later at Dun, on which occasion a number of the neighbouring gentry appear to have embraced the Protestant opinions.¹

Hitherto, with a leniency that seems somewhat unaccountable, considering the public scandal caused by the declared hostility of Knox to the Church of which he was an ordained priest, the ecclesiastical authorities had taken no proceedings against him.² When these were at length determined upon, the manner of their execution unfortunately resulted rather in the increase than the diminution of his followers. On May 15, 1556, Knox was summoned to appear in the Blackfriars' Church at Edinburgh. Owing, however, either to some informality in the proceedings, or to the reluctance of the bishops to proceed to extremities, the summons was quashed, and Knox, on his arrival in Edinburgh, instead of finding himself a prisoner before the ecclesiastical court, preached, on the very day on which he had been summoned, "in a greater audience than ever before he had done in that town."³ Emboldened by his good fortune, the reformer was induced by the Earls of Glencairn and Marshall to address a letter to the queen-regent, in which he called upon her to protect the teachers of the new doctrines, and declaimed in his usual violent terms

Ecclesiastical proceedings against Knox.

¹ Knox, *Historie*, p. 100.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*

against the Catholic faith, which he styles a "mortal pestilence." The queen read the letter, and handed it a day or two afterwards to the Archbishop of Glasgow, with the mocking remark, "Please you, my lord, to read a Pasquill." Knox's vanity was greatly wounded by this reception of his letter. He made copious additions to it, and reprinted it two years later at Geneva. "The allusions in the second edition," remarks a Protestant historian, "to the prophet Jeremiah and King Jehoiakim, to Elias and Jezebel, would be ludicrous, if they were not arrogant and profane."¹ It has been considered somewhat remarkable that Knox, in the preface to this document, appeals from the unjust sentence of the bishops to a General Council.² "There is no reason, however," says the writer already quoted, "to suppose that the reformer would have submitted to the adverse judgment of any synod whatever. Deference to ecclesiastical authority was repugnant to his whole principles and practice, and it is idle to draw conclusions as to his serious opinions from expressions which were mere words of form or policy."³ Submission to any form of authority, indeed, was opposed to the essential spirit of the reformers; for the claim

¹ Grub, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 46.

² Knox, *Historie*, Appendix, p. 80. "From them, their sentence and tyrannie, and from all those that list to maintain them in the same, I do appeal to a lawfull and generall Council."

³ Grub, *Ecclesiastical History*, *loc. cit.*

which they asserted of having received their mission directly from God, necessarily excluded all idea of subjection to any human tribunal whatsoever.

The next step in the career of Knox was one which his biographers have found it somewhat difficult to reconcile with their admiration of his character. He received in the year 1556 an invitation to again undertake the charge of the English Protestants of Geneva ; and although his infant congregation in Scotland might well be supposed still to stand in need of his pastoral care and supervision, he accepted the offer, severed himself from his flock and his noble protectors and patrons, and returned to Geneva. Knox himself, in his History, has preserved a discreet silence as to the real cause of his departure from Scotland. “Timidity,” says one historian, “was not among his faults,¹ and mere apprehension of danger would never have made him leave.” The fact, however, remains that it was precisely at this time that rigorous proceedings were threatened against the reformer on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities, and that he was accused to the Regent of being an enemy to order and a dangerous dema-

Knox's flight to Geneva.

¹ Dr Laing, on the other hand, one of Knox's warmest admirers, remarks, “On more than one occasion Knox displayed a timidity, or shrinking from danger, scarcely to have been expected from one who boasted his willingness to endure the utmost torture or suffer death in his Master's cause.”—*Works of Knox*, vol. vi., preface, p. 66.

gogue. A contemporary document, entitled “An Apology for our Departure,” and attributed on good grounds to Knox, shows beyond doubt that fears for his life prompted his sudden departure.¹ Self-preservation is one of the most powerful instincts of our nature, and the reformer is not to be blamed for his somewhat undignified disappearance in the hour of danger. We need only point out that men whose first thought in the moment of peril is to secure their own safety, leaving to others the defence of their doctrines, can hardly claim (as some of their admirers have done for them) the title of martyrs to the cause of truth.

His con-
demnation
by the
Church
courts.

Notwithstanding Knox’s absence from Scotland, he was duly tried before the ecclesiastical courts, found guilty of heresy, and burnt in effigy at the market-place in Edinburgh. The effect of this step, delayed as it was until the offender himself was safely out of reach, was, if anything, to strengthen his adherents and further to embolden himself. Hardly had the news of his condemnation reached him, than he published a lengthy document, entitled “The Appellation of John Knox

¹ Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 84, note. “Judging with all charity,” observes this historian, “it must be admitted that whilst his writings at this season had all the impassioned zeal, his conduct betrayed some want of the ardent courage, of the martyr.” Viewed in connection with this, it must be admitted that the oft-quoted words of Morton at Knox’s grave, “Here lieth one who never feared the face of man,” lose somewhat of their point.—TRANSLATOR.

from the cruell and most unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false bishops and clergie of Scotland ; with his Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, States, and Commonalty of the same Realme." Herein he appealed against his condemnation on the threefold ground—first, of his absence from the country, and consequently from the jurisdiction of the prelates who had judged the cause ; secondly, of his never having received any formal summons to appear ; and thirdly, of the incompetence of the tribunal which had condemned him, on account of the crimes of which he had accused its members, and which he was ready to substantiate when called upon. The "Appellation" went on to defend the right of the divinely appointed prophets and preachers of Christ to appeal from the judgment of the visible Church to the civil authority. The latter, it further maintained, was bound not only to protect the true religion, but to punish with death those who deprived the people of the bread of life, the Word of God.¹

Encouraged by the example of their absent

¹ Knox, *Historie*, Appendix, pp. 1-33. Mr Grub, in his summary of this remarkable document (*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 48), has softened down its teaching with some adroitness. In it Knox lays down with great clearness and at considerable length the doctrine that not only rulers, but every member of the commonwealth, is bound to punish idolatry and similar crimes with death ; thus plainly sanctioning the theory of indiscriminate assassination, which doubtless fully justified in his eyes the murders of Beaton and Rizzio.—(Pp. 22 seq.)—TRANSLATOR.

Protestant preachers. champion and leader, the lesser lights of Protestantism now made their appearance with greater frequency and boldness. John Douglas, the ex-Carmelite, now chaplain to the Earl of Argyll, preached openly in Edinburgh and the vicinity, while the districts of Angus and Mearns were evangelised by Paul Methven, the baker of Dundee. The spread of the new doctrines was encouraged by the hesitating attitude of the Regent, whose anxiety for the preservation of peace, especially among the nobles, made her reluctant to take any steps against the reformers. At length, however, at the requisition of the Archbishop of St Andrews, she issued a summons for Methven to appear before a convention of the clergy. The preacher appeared in Edinburgh on the appointed day, but accompanied by such a rabble of his followers, that the Regent, dreading a tumult, caused proclamation to be made ordering all persons not having lawful business in Edinburgh to depart to the Border for fifteen days.¹ Far from complying with the command, a number of them forced themselves into the queen's presence at Holyrood, headed by one Chalmers of Gadgirth, who thus addressed her : “ We know, madam, that this is the device of the

¹ According to Knox, this was done on the advice of Dury, Bishop of Galloway, who proffered his counsel to the queen in the following doggerel couplet :—

“ Madam, because they are come without order,
I rede [advise] ye send them to the Border.”—TRANSLATOR.

bishops who now stand beside you. We avow to God we shall make a day of it. They oppress us and our poor tenants to feed themselves; they trouble our ministers and seek to undo them and us all. We will not suffer it any longer.”¹ We shall see a little later how much justice there was in the charge that the Scottish prelates and clergy were the oppressors of the poor. Read between the lines, the bold words of Chalmers portended what was soon to come to pass—the division of the property of the Church among the rapacious nobles, who were to be thus bribed to protect and befriend the teachers of the new doctrines. For the time the Regent succeeded in pacifying the Protestants, and the storm blew over.²

Everything seemed now to conspire in favour of the hopes of the reformers, and the disaffected nobles were not slow to take advantage of the improvement in their prospects. On March 10, 1557, Lords Glencairn and Lorn, Erskine of

¹ So quoted by Tytler (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 84). Knox (*Historie*, p. 103) makes Chalmers address the Regent in terms somewhat coarser and more outspoken.—TRANSLATOR.

² Knox, *Historie*, p. 103. There is something touching in Mary’s gentle appeal, in her simple broken Scotch, to these rude invaders of her privacy: “My joys, my hearts, what ails you? Me means no evil to you, nor to your preachers. The bishops shall do you no wrong. Ye are all my loving subjects. . . . Me will hear the controversy that is betwixt the bishops and you: they shall do you no wrong. . . . O my hearts, should ye not love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your mind, and should ye not *luif* your neighbours as *yourselves?*” Knox’s charitable comment on this is, “O crafty flatterer!”—TRANSLATOR.

Dun, and James Stuart, wrote to Knox urging him to return home. The persecution, they said, had ceased, the friars were daily losing favour with the queen, and there was every hope of the increase of "God's flock."¹ After taking counsel with Calvin, Knox resolved to comply with the request. On October 24 he reached Dieppe, only to be met there with such discouraging letters from Scotland, that he turned once more and made his way back to his beloved Geneva. Thence he addressed a letter to his Scottish friends and supporters, rating them soundly for their want of courage, and urging them to persist in their purpose, even at the hazard of their lives.² This letter proved effectual. The Protestant leaders assembled in consultation, and proceeded to subscribe, on the 3d of December, the bond or covenant which marks an important epoch in the history of the Reformation. By this they bound themselves to do all in their power to maintain the Congregation (as the Protestant party were henceforth styled), to support faithful ministers, and utterly to "forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof." By the congregation of Satan was of course signified the Catholic Church, with which all hope of reconciliation was thus formally abandoned.³

Establishment
of the "Con-
gregation,"
December
3, 1557.

¹ Knox, *Historie*, p. 107.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 107-110.

³ The first signature to the bond is that of the Earl of Argyll,

The Solemn League and Covenant having been thus formed for the express object of the overthrow of the ancient faith, practical measures were at once adopted for the furtherance of its aims. It was ordered by the Congregation that in all parishes of the realm the Book of Common Prayer should be read weekly on Sundays and festivals, publicly in the churches. This was to be done by the curates of the parishes, if qualified : “if they be not, or if they refuse, the most qualified in the parish are to read the same.”¹

This resolution was put in force without delay, wherever the authority of the Lords of the Congregation extended. The Catholic clergy were ejected, and the Protestant preachers installed in their place. Douglas, the apostate friar, preached openly in the house of the Earl of Argyll. Urgent letters were despatched to Knox at Geneva, and also to Calvin, begging him to exert his authority to procure the return of Knox to Scotland.

These bold and defiant measures might well awake the alarm of the authorities of the Scottish Church. They represented to the Regent the

the same who, as Tytler proves, sold himself to England for a thousand crowns. It was also subscribed by Lord Glencairn, the notorious traitor and pensioner of Henry VIII., and by Morton, whose whole life was spent in treason, conspiracy, and crime, and who was finally executed for his share in the murder of Darnley.—TRANSLATOR.

¹ Knox, *Historie*, p. 111.

treasonable character of the covenant entered into by the Congregation, and of its subsequent acts. The Catholic faith, they maintained, was still recognised as the established religion of the realm, and enjoyed the protection of the laws ; and it was now exposed to the open attacks of a faction of private individuals, who, without the slightest warrant or authority from the State, had assumed to themselves the power of legislation. The revolutionary character, indeed, of the Reformation movement in Scotland was now sufficiently evident. “Observe,” remarks the Protestant Bishop Keith, in reference to the ordinance of the Congregation above cited, “ how these men give orders to the whole realm. Such an act would be justly adjudged high treason now ; I know not what it might be then.”¹

Tolerance
of Mary of
Guise.

Mary of Guise, however privately well disposed towards the Catholic cause, was deterred by political considerations from sanctioning any active measures in its behalf. The marriage of her daughter to the Dauphin was still under consideration ; and until it had been fully agreed to by the Parliament, the Regent would countenance no proceedings against the Lords of the Congregation. Meanwhile the primate, who was himself, as even his enemies have allowed, sincerely averse to persecution, addressed a letter to Argyll, in which he urged him to dismiss his apostate chap-

¹ *Hist. of Affairs of Church and State*, p. 66.

lain, promising to send him a learned and devout priest in his place. The archbishop adds that he has been greatly blamed for his remissness in not suppressing false doctrine, as he is bound to do by virtue of his office;¹ and he concludes by warning the earl of the dangerous consequences that will ensue if a remedy is not found for the evils of which he complains. The temperate remonstrance of the primate had no effect. Argyll rejoined in a lengthy document, probably composed by Douglas; and he died very shortly afterwards. Bishop Keith, in his account of this incident, pays a high tribute to the wisdom and moderation of Archbishop Hamilton,² and even Buchanan allows that he was “not at all a man of blood.” Tytler is therefore probably correct in supposing that he was not the instigator of the trial of Walter Mylne for heresy, which took place within a month of the primate’s correspondence with Argyll. Mylne, who was the last to suffer death on account of his religious tenets before the overthrow of the ancient Church, had been parish priest of Lunan, in Angus. He had spent some time in Germany during his youth, had early professed the Protestant opinions, and under Cardinal Beaton had been thrown into prison, whence, however, he contrived to escape, and to return to his native district. When

Trial and
execution
of Walter
Mylne.

¹ Knox, *Historie*, pp. 112, 113.

² *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 67.

eighty years of age, he emerged from his retirement, and appeared in public as a preacher. In April 1558, he was apprehended and tried for heresy at St Andrews. He was found guilty and condemned to the stake; the sentence being pronounced, it was said, by one of the archbishop's household, as no secular judge could be found to officiate.¹

Renewed
efforts of
the Protes-
tants.

The execution of Mylne was the cause, as might have been expected, of increased animosity to the clergy on the part of the leaders of the Congregation, who spared no effort to augment the numbers of their adherents throughout the country. Agents were sent into every part of the kingdom, charged to use all possible means to obtain the subscriptions and support of the people. The Protestant lords, in November 1558, resolved to embody their wishes in a formal petition to the Regent. It was demanded, first, that the Congregation should be allowed to meet publicly or privately for common prayer, in order to commend to God the "holy Universall Church, the Queene their Soveraigne, and her honourable and gracious husband;"² secondly, that at these meetings any qualified person should be allowed

¹ Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum*, fol. 189. Keith, however, remarks with reference to this story, "What precise truth is in it cannot be determined, unless there were more certain documents to instruct the same."—*Op. cit.*, p. 68.

² Knox, *Historie*, p. 128. We shall see later how this solemn engagement was kept.—TRANSLATOR.

to interpret hard passages of Scripture; thirdly, that baptism and the Lord's Supper should be administered in the vulgar tongue, and the latter under both kinds; and lastly, that the lives of the prelates and clergy should be reformed.¹ The petition was presented to the Regent at Holyrood by Sir James Sandilands, in November 1558. However little Mary of Guise may have sympathised with these demands, she thought it expedient to temporise, and promised that they should have her anxious consideration.

Buchanan² relates that the Catholic clergy were willing to concede that prayers should be offered and baptism administered in the vernacular, provided that this were done in private, and also that the teaching of the Church were upheld regarding the Mass, purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the invocation of saints. The compromise was rejected by the Protestant party; but the Regent, whose chief anxiety at this time was, as has been said, to obtain from Parliament the ratification of her daughter's marriage, and the kingly title for the Dauphin, promised toleration of the two points mentioned above, on condition that no public assemblies were held in Edinburgh or Leith. The Protestants, in gratitude for this concession, imposed silence upon Douglas, who was to have preached in Leith

Compro-
mise offered
by the
Catholic
party.

¹ Knox, *Historie*, p. 128. Keith, *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 80.

² *Rerum Scoticarum*, fol. 190.

about this time. Meanwhile they submitted to the Regent another petition, for presentation to the Parliament then on the point of meeting, in which they prayed that the laws authorising the proceedings against heretics be suspended until the present religious controversies were decided, and that none of the Congregation be condemned for heresy unless convicted out of the Word of God. Mary, however, refused to sanction the presentation of this petition; upon which the leaders of the Congregation drew up a formal protest, which is said to have been read in Parliament, although it was not allowed to be entered in the records.

Condition
of affairs
in 1559.

Such was the position of affairs at the commencement of the year 1559. The concessions which the Catholic party were prepared to make, in order to safeguard if possible the essential doctrines of the Church, and the rejection of those concessions by the Protestants, show that the breach between the opposing sides was now irreparable. It cannot be denied that the luxury, disorder, and dereliction of duty that characterised many of the Catholic clergy furnished only too plausible a pretext for the violent and lawless proceedings of their opponents. A document still extant throws a painful but salutary light on the laxness of discipline which prevailed in one diocese, at least, on the eve of the Reformation. The Bishop of Aberdeen, it appears, had

asked the advice of his chapter on the question of ecclesiastical reform and the suppression of heresy; and in a memorial dated January 5, 1559, they submitted to him certain suggestions for this end. In the first place, they urged him to cause the clergy of the diocese, including the chapter, to break off their illicit connections and reform their lives. Secondly, the bishop should provide for preaching to be made throughout the diocese, and for *at least one* sermon to be delivered before the beginning of Lent, and *one more* between that and Easter, in every parish church. Thirdly, to cause all who neglected to attend Mass, at least on Sundays and holidays, to be summoned before the bishop and chapter, and examined as to their faith. The memorial concludes by an earnest appeal to the bishop himself to "show good and edifying example; in special, in removing and discharging himself of company of the gentlewoman, by whom he is greatly slandered; without which be done, diverse that are partners say they cannot accept counsel and correction of him which will not correct himself." The bishop is also entreated to avoid the company of heretics, and "when his lordship please to visit the fields to repose himself, he choose such company as beseems his lordship's own estate."¹ Among the subscribers to this document we find the name of John Leslie, parson

in the dio-
cese of
Aberdeen.

¹ *Regist. Episc. Aberdon.*, vol. i. pp. lxi-lxv.

of Murthlach, afterwards the celebrated Bishop of Ross. It is, in truth, a convincing and melancholy testimony to the decay of moral and religious discipline in the Scottish Church, and to her urgent need of reform, not, indeed, at the hands of an irresponsible body of revolutionary fanatics, but by the wise and salutary measures of the great Council of Trent—measures which there is no reason to doubt would have worked the same wonderful results in Scotland as they did in other parts of Christendom.

Provincial
Council of
1559.

On March 1, 1559, a Provincial Council, summoned by the primate, Archbishop Hamilton, met at Edinburgh, and sat continuously until the 10th of April. Notwithstanding the lively colours in which the archbishop depicted the urgent needs of the Church, the attendance of clergy was at first by no means numerous; and three weeks after the opening of the Council, we find the Archbishop of Glasgow and the vicar-general of the vacant diocese of Galloway repeating in peremptory terms the citation to their diocesan clergy to be present.

The first question that came before the Council was the consideration of a petition that had been presented by the Congregation to the Regent, and by her laid before the assembled clergy. The Protestants' demands included, first, that the vulgar tongue should be adopted for public prayers and the administration of the sacra-

ments; secondly, that bishops should in future be elected by the nobility, and the parochial clergy by the parishioners; and thirdly, that priests unfit for the pastoral office should be removed from their cures, and replaced by competent persons. These various points having been duly discussed and considered by the Council, the following answer was returned. First, that the Council had no power to alter the order of public worship and the administration of the sacraments, observed for centuries in the Catholic Church, and therefore could not sanction the proposed change of language. For private devotion, every one was free to use what language he pleased. Secondly, as regarded the appointment to bishoprics and other ecclesiastical offices, the Council desired that the prescriptions of the canon law should be strictly adhered to, in which case no abuses could take place. As in Scotland the right of presentation generally belonged to the sovereign, subject to papal sanction, this matter would be referred to the consideration of the queen and her Council. Thirdly, with regard to preaching, the administration of the sacraments, and the qualifications of the clergy, there could be no better regulations than those contained in the canon law and the provisions of the various Provincial Councils; and these in future should be enforced in all points. As to the residence of the clergy, and their personal discharge of the

duties of their office, these also were provided for by the ancient canons and the ordinances of the Council of Trent, the observance of which would be strictly enjoined.

"Articles
of Reformation."

Besides the petition of which we have spoken, the Council also had under consideration certain Articles of Reformation, which had been presented to the Regent by a number of temporal lords and other laymen, and which she now remitted to the Council through the Chancellor of the realm. These Articles have been preserved among the Acts of the Council.¹ It is not known from whom they emanated ; but their tone, excepting in a few unimportant points, is Catholic throughout, and it is evident that they proceeded from a party well affected to the Church, and sincerely desirous of the reform of abuses by legitimate means. They commence by recalling the public admonition given by James V., in his last Parliament,² to the bishops and clergy to reform their lives and avoid scandal, and by urging them to this necessary step without delay. The Articles next following petition that there may be sermons preached in every parish church on all Sundays and holidays, or at least at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and every third or fourth Sunday ; that no one be allowed to preach without previous examination as to his doctrine and manner of life ; that no one be ad-

¹ Robertson, *Statuta*, pp. 146-151.

² See *ante*, p. 161.

mitted to the cure of souls unless properly qualified to administer the sacraments and to read the Catechism to the people ; that expositions of the doctrine of the sacraments of the Holy Eucharist, baptism, and matrimony be published in English for the instruction of the people ; and that prayers and litanies be said in English on Sundays and holidays, after Mass, and evening prayers said also in the vulgar tongue. There is no change suggested in the language of the Mass itself. The seventh and eighth Articles urge the abolition of mortuary fees, church dues, and Easter offerings, or at least that they be no longer compulsorily exacted by the clergy on pain of excommunication ; and likewise demand the shortening of the forms of process in the consistorial courts. In conclusion, the Articles petition that no one be allowed to dishonour or speak irreverently of the blessed sacrament of the Eucharist, and that the sacraments be administered only as before set down, and by persons duly admitted and ordained thereto ; and finally, that no one “be so bold as to burn, spoil, or destroy kirks, chapels, or religious places, and ornaments thereof, or attempt anything for deforming or innovating the laudable ceremonies and rites thereof used in Holy Kirk.”¹

¹ It should be mentioned that it is by no means so clear as appears in the text that there really were two separate sets of Articles presented to the Regent, and by her laid before the Provincial Council. The former set, supposed by our author (following

Statutes of
the Council
of 1559.

The canons which the Council now proceeded to enact were intended no doubt to serve as an answer to the above Articles of Reformation, and to ameliorate the evils of which they complained. They were as follows: 1. The decrees of the Council of Basle *contra concubinarios* are to be strictly enforced against all offenders, including the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates. And in order to set a good example in this respect to others, the two archbishops hereby agree to submit themselves to the counsel and admonition of the following six ecclesiastics: the Bishop of Dunkeld; the Bishops - designate of Galloway and Ross; Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig; Greyson, provincial of the Dominicans and dean of theology at St Andrews University; and Wimram, sub-prior of St Andrews. These are to meet in Edinburgh twice yearly, and, should they find cause, to admonish the archbishops in all Christian charity; the matter to be referred, if necessary, to the Provincial Council, or, as a last resort, to the Pope. 2. Neither prelates nor

Grub and others) to have emanated from the Protestants, are described by Bishop Leslie (*De Reb. Gest. Scotorum*, p. 504); while the latter, attributed to the reforming party within the Church, are preserved, as we have said, with the Acts of the Council. There is certainly considerable difference between them; but Bishop Leslie, although he wrote in 1571, only twelve years after the Council met, is far from being a model of accuracy; and it is not at all impossible, as Lord Hailes and Mr Robertson suppose, that the supposed two sets of Articles are really identical. See Robertson, *Statuta*, pp. 300, 301.—TRANSLATOR.

other ecclesiastics are to keep their illegitimate children with them in their houses for more than four days in every three months, and that not publicly, on pain of a fine of two hundred pounds in the case of an archbishop, a hundred pounds if a bishop, and a proportionate amount, at the discretion of the Ordinary, in the case of the inferior clergy. 3. Archbishops and bishops are forbidden to collate their sons to benefices in their own churches; such collation to be *ipso facto* null and void, and a new presentation to be made. The queen is to be asked to petition the Pope not to grant any dispensations contrary to this statute. 4. Prelates who marry their daughters to barons or landed gentry having a rental of more than a hundred pounds, are not to endow them from the patrimony of the Church;¹ nor are they to grant to their sons lands or baronies of more than that annual value. 5. No ecclesiastic, of whatever rank, must retain in his household persons suspected of heresy, or who refuse to attend Mass, contemn the sacraments, and hold erroneous opinions in matters of faith. All such are to be instantly removed, according as the prelate himself shall answer before the Supreme

¹ This is one of the abuses satirised by Sir David Lindsay in his *Three Estates (Poetical Works, vol. ii. p. 79)*:-

“ That Prelatis dochtouris of this natioun
Ar maryit with sic superfluitie,
Thay will nocht spair to gif twa thowsand pound
With their dochtouris to ane nobill man.”

Statutes of
the Council
of 1559.

Judge.¹ 6. The clergy are not to engage in trade or secular business. Should any prelate or other ecclesiastic be found to traffic in provisions, fish, salt, butter, wool, or anything else, he is to forfeit the profits. 7. The canons of former Councils as to clerical dress and tonsure are to be observed; and archbishops and bishops, when appearing in public or in the church, are always to wear linen rochets. 8. Prelates and other ecclesiastics are exhorted for the love of Christ to celebrate more frequently the holy sacrifice of the Mass, that so the people may be stirred to greater piety and devotion. The Ordinaries are to inquire whether all priests and beneficiaries say daily the canonical hours, and assist at Mass at least on Sundays and festivals. 9. The visitation of monasteries, including those exempt, is to be strictly carried out according to the provisions of previous Councils and the Tridentine decrees. The Visitor is to inquire into and correct any abuses that may exist; to see that the monks and nuns are properly provided as to food, clothing, and other necessaries, and that dilapidated buildings are put into repair. He is also to take care that prioresses of nuns give in to their Ordinary every year an accurate account

¹ Ninian Winzet (*Tractatis*, pp. 5, 6), addressing the "Bischoipis and utheris pastores" in 1562, writes in bitter irony, "Zour wyse, saige, and grave familiar servands, void of al vanitie, bodily lustis, and heresie, ar spoken of to zour prayse, God wate." (Printed in Keith, *Appendix*, p. 205.)

of the income of their respective convents. 10. Statutes of the Council of 1559. Provision is made for the rebuilding and repair, where required, of churches throughout the country. It is strictly forbidden to cut down trees in churchyards without permission from the proper authorities. 11. All beneficiaries must be in holy orders, and pluralists must be prepared to exhibit their dispensations. 12. Every curate in charge of a parish church is to have a manse and garden, with a stipend of twenty merks annually in the dioceses of Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, Orkney, and Caithness, and twenty-four merks in the other dioceses. 13. Former statutes against those impeding rural deans or episcopal commissioners in the execution of their office are to be strictly enforced. Offences committed by laymen against the ecclesiastical laws are to be met by public penance in the parish church or cathedral, or by fines—the sums thus obtained to be devoted to some religious purpose. 14. The bishops are to preach in their dioceses not only four times in the year, as already ordered, but more frequently, as enjoined by the Council of Trent. Each bishop is to make a complete visitation of his diocese in person, at least every two years, and during the visitation to preach either himself or by a substitute. The statute ordering that there be a canonist and a theologian attached to every cathedral, and a theologian in every bishop's household, is to be at once put in force. 15.

Statutes of
the Council
of 1559. Similarly, the parochial clergy are to preach more frequently than heretofore enjoined. If too young, or otherwise incompetent for this duty, they must forthwith make themselves fit by study in the schools, providing, meanwhile, substitutes to preach for them : those, however, who are past fifty years of age, and have never been accustomed to preach, may attend the sermons of their substitutes. Besides the regular sermons, there are to be instructions and reading of the Catechism also, on Sundays and holidays. 16. The method and form of preaching, as laid down in the previous Council, is hereby approved and ordered to be observed. 17. Eight Articles follow, containing a brief exposition of certain points of the Catholic faith, on which the clergy are directed specially to instruct the people.¹ 18. That the people may better understand the nature and effects of the sacraments of the Church, short exhortations or declarations regarding them are ordered to be published. These are to be publicly read by the priest before the administration of each sacrament ; and in the same way by the bishop before administering confirmation or orders, and by the confessor in the sacrament of penance.² 19. The

¹ A literal translation of these Articles, to which a peculiar interest attaches, as the last dogmatic declarations of the Scottish Church, will be found in the Appendix (App. V.)—TRANSLATOR.

² The only one of these declarations still extant, and probably the only one that ever appeared, is the *Godlie Exhortatioun*, on the Holy Eucharist, which, as already mentioned, was popularly known as the *Twapenny Faith*.—TRANSLATOR.

statute regarding the sending of religious to study at the universities is at once to be put into execution. Superiors of monasteries are to give in to the Ordinary, before the 1st of August next, the names of the religious sent in accordance with this decree. 20. It is ordered that, considering the scandals that have arisen from the collation to benefices of persons in every respect unfitted for their office, no one be henceforth promoted to any benefice whatever, unless he be found, after diligent examination by the Ordinary, to be competent to fulfil the duties belonging to it. A petition is to be presented to the queen praying her not to present or nominate any one to vacant bishoprics, abbacies, or other dignities, except such as are duly qualified thereto by age, character, and learning. 21. Provision is made for protecting the rights of children, wards, and others, in cases of persons dying intestate. Fifteen days before the executors are permitted to administer the effects, public notice is to be given in church at the time of divine service, inviting all who have any interest in the matter to come forward and make good their claims. 22. The grievances regarding mortuary-fees is to be redressed, by their being no longer exacted from the poor. 23. Feuing or leasing out of Church lands is strictly prohibited, with certain specified exceptions. 24. The greater tithes are to be collected by the clergy for themselves, or

Statutes of
the Council
of 1559.

Statutes of
the Council
of 1559. else to be leased to the farmers and labourers on the glebe for a moderate sum. 25-28. Provision is made for curtailing and otherwise reforming the forms of process in the ecclesiastical courts. 29. The age of twenty-one years is fixed as the age of majority according to ecclesiastical, as it already is according to civil law.¹ 30-32. Regulations are laid down for the collection of pecuniary fines, the due attendance at Mass of every parishioner, and the form of letters issued by the Ordinary or his official. 33. In order to avoid every appearance of scandal, the lesser tithes are not to be collected at Easter, but before the beginning of Lent, the Easter offerings being left to the spontaneous liberality of the faithful. 34. Whereas Methven, Harlay, Grant, Willock, Patrick, and other apostates from the faith and the Church's unity, have introduced a novel method of baptism, thus rendering it doubtful in many cases whether the sacrament has been duly administered, it is ordered that all infants baptised by these persons be conditionally rebaptised within fifteen days, according to the form instituted by Christ and received in the Church. Similarly, it is forbidden to administer or receive the sacraments of the Eucharist or matrimony, except in accordance with the prescribed forms, on pain of the greater excommunication.

¹ The ecclesiastical law, following the Roman, fixed the age of majority at twenty-five.—TRANSLATOR.

Septuagesima Sunday, 1560, having been appointed as the date of the next meeting of the synod, the assembly broke up, and its members dispersed, little dreaming, probably, that they had assisted at the last Provincial Council of the Scottish Church which was to meet for upwards of three hundred years.¹ When the day chosen for the next assembly arrived, Protestantism was already practically triumphant, and a few months later witnessed the final crash—the overthrow of that historic Church whose last official act had been the promulgation of a body of laws admirably adapted in themselves, as no unprejudiced judge will deny,² to bring about the reforms so urgently demanded alike by friends and foes. As their dogmatic declarations faithfully reflect the teaching of the Universal Church, so, too, the practical measures which they enjoin are in full conformity with her earnest desire to grapple with the crying evils of the times. Nevertheless, it is open to doubt whether, even had time been allowed, those measures could ever have been put into execution. The statute requiring all who held any ecclesiastical preferment either to undertake its duties or to resign it within six months,

Close of
the last
Council
of the
Scottish
Church.

Difficulties
in the way
of reform.

¹ Three hundred and twenty-six years after the downfall of the ancient faith in Scotland, the restored hierarchy met once more in Provincial Council, at Fort Augustus, under the presidency of an Archbishop of St Andrews (August 1886).—TRANSLATOR.

² Even Lord Hailes allows that Knox's account of the canons is "exceedingly partial and erroneous."—TRANSLATOR.

was one which could hardly be expected to have any effect in the too common case of those who had entered upon their benefices without either the slightest qualification for their office or the remotest intention of fulfilling it. The gross abuses that had grown up, in spite of Popes and councils, in connection with the presentation to benefices, were, in truth, the rock on which the Scottish Church finally split. The system of commendatory abbeies, priories, deaneries, and other ecclesiastical dignities, had already resulted in the alienation to laymen of great part of the property of the Church ; and the work was only completed when sacrilegious hands were at length laid upon the venerable fabric itself. However wise and salutary the measures of reform enacted by the Council of 1559, it seemed as if they came too late to stem the flood that was rising to overwhelm the ancient faith of Scotland. The very severity which was intended to strike terror into those who, by their unworthy lives, disgraced the offices they held, only drove them, if we are to believe the testimony of a contemporary historian, into overt rebellion from the authority and teaching of the Church.¹

¹ Leslie, *De rebus gestis Scot.*, p. 505. "De reliquis duobus articulis, ne plus sibi quam veritati indulsisse viderentur, in eam sententiam itum est, ut omnia ad antiquorum exemplar, ac Concilii Tridentini normam conformarentur, ut episcopi, abbates, priores, decani, archidiaconi, pastores, ac cujuscumque ordinis religiosi intra sex menses, vel munus suum præsentes obvient, vel bene-

While the Provincial Council was holding its deliberations in Edinburgh, the Catholic cause in the west of Scotland found an able and zealous champion in the person of Quintin Kennedy, the last Abbot of Crossraguel. Kennedy was the youngest son of Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, and had received his education at the University of St Andrews,¹ and afterwards at Paris. On his return from France he became vicar of Girvan, in Carrick; and in 1547, on the death of his uncle, William Kennedy, Abbot of the Cluniac monastery of Crossraguel, Quintin was appointed his successor. In this capacity he assisted at the Provincial Council of 1549. The zeal, piety, and learning of Abbot Quintin well fitted him to cope with the dangers that attacked the Church. In the year 1558, at the request of his nephew, the Master of Cassillis, he published “A compendious Tractive, conform to the Scriptures of Almighty God, reason, and authority, declaring the nearest and only way to establish the conscience of a Christian man in all matters which are in debate concerning faith and religion.” Some account of

ficiis ecclesiæ quamprimum cederent. Nonnulli religiosi et alii qui solutius per totam vitam degentes, tam arcta ecclesiæ disciplina nolebant adstringi, aut qui omnis plane eruditionis expertes provinciam suam non poterant ullo modo tueri, bello ecclesiæ Romanæ quasi indicto, ad hæreticos aperte deficiunt, ac infestissimis animis ecclesiæ rem evertendam curant.”

¹ His name is recorded among the students incorporated in 1540 at St Salvator's College. (*Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel*, ed. 1886, vol. i. p. xl.)—TRANSLATOR.

the Tract will not be without interest, and will give an idea of the clear and cogent nature of the arguments employed in this, one of the few remaining specimens of pre-Reformation controversy.¹

The work is described by Keith² as a small quarto of fifty-eight leaves, divided into eighteen chapters. It is dedicated to the Master of Casillis, to whom there is a short prefatory address, followed by another to the reader. The author, after referring most of the prevalent errors of the day to a wrong understanding of the Word of God, proceeds to define the proper place and function of Holy Scripture. By reason of the numerous methods of interpreting the Scripture, it is necessary that there be some authorised judge to determine its true meaning. The Bible is a faithful witness to the truth in matters relat-

¹ The following is a list of Abbot Kennedy's other works :—

2. *De Publico Ecclesiæ Sacrificio.*
3. *Contra errores Germanorum in fide: capita quatuordecem defensa contra Georgium Sophocardium.*
4. *Responsio ad Joannis Davidsoni opus.*
5. *De vetitorum abstinentia.*
6. *De illicito Presbyterorum matrimonio.*
7. *De cultu imaginum.*
8. *Palinodia Willoxo redditæ xxix.: MDLXII.*
9. *Querimonia super Knoxii fraude et impietate.*
10. *Oratio pro obedientia supremis potestatibus, habita die ultimo Augusti, MDLXII.*
11. *De præsentia Corporis in Sacramento Altaris.*

—(Mackenzie, *Lives*, vol. iii. p. 69; *Charters of Crossraguel*, vol. i. p. xlvi.)

² *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 199 (Appendix).

ing to faith (according to the Lord's words, "Ye search the Scriptures, and they are they which testify of me"¹); but for that very reason it cannot also be the judge in such matters. Scripture itself, experience, reason, and authority, alike agree that the only true judge is the Church, whose duty it is to decide according to the testimony of Holy Writ. What, then, the writer goes on to ask, is the Church? The word may be applied to the whole mystical body of the faithful, whereof Christ is the Head; or, in a more restricted sense, to the rulers and elders of that body. It is to the Church in this sense, as the author abundantly proves from the testimony of history, beginning with the first council of Jerusalem, that alone belongs the right of deciding in matters of faith, and interpreting the true sense of Holy Scripture.

The tract goes on to speak of the supposed necessity for all to read the Bible. "Why," it is commonly said, "should not every man read the Scripture, and so work out his salvation? Must not each man bear his own burden, and answer for his own soul, which neither monk nor priest can do for him?" Such sayings, our author points out, must be understood in their proper sense. What is necessary for his salvation it were indeed wrong to withhold from the poorest Christian. But this is by no means the case. In

¹ St John v. 39.

the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Our Father—the prayer that our Lord Himself has bid us daily offer to Him—are contained all the faith and doctrine that a Christian man requires. As to the question whether lay folk may read the Bible for themselves, the Church has not definitely determined the point; but the author's judgment is that they may well do so for the profit of their souls and increase of virtue, but not out of mere curiosity touching the doctrines of the sacraments, predestination, free-will, and justification.

The Church is accused, continues the abbot, of setting up her laws above the law of God. He disproves this charge by showing that, in case of necessity, it is permitted to transgress the Church's laws, which is never allowed with the law of God. Whatever may be the abuses that have grown up in connection with the laws of the Church, that is no reason for abolishing what is good in itself. Is not God's law daily broken and contemned? yet who would dare to say that it ought therefore to be done away? If any man think (what is doubtless true) that there are some constitutions of the Church no longer suitable to the times, let him complain thereof to the higher powers, and not think to correct them himself with no authority. "For I dare boldly say," goes on the author, "there shall more inconveniences follow on all things which are done

without order, than to thole [suffer] the abuse, to the time God provide a remedy by order."¹

While denouncing in severe terms the irregular lives led by many churchmen, the abbot argues that there is no reason why Christians should on that account waver in their faith, or refuse obedience to the ecclesiastical authority. He shows this from the words of Christ, who bade His disciples do whatever the scribes and Pharisees commanded them to observe, although they were not to follow them in their works. The source of all the evils under which the Church is labouring is acknowledged to be the deplorable abuse of ecclesiastical patronage which everywhere prevails. We will allow the quaint and striking eloquence of the author to speak for itself on this point.²

"Thou mayest see daily by experience," he says, "a bairn and a babe, to whom scarcely wouldest thou give a fair apple to keep, get, perchance, five thousand souls to guide; and all for avarice, the root of all vice, that their parents may get the profit of the benefice to their own singular commodity, and the poor simple bairn scarcely get to bring him up virtuously; the convent and place where God should be daily honoured and served goes clean to ruin. And those who are the procurers and upholders of such monstrous farces in the Kirk of

¹ Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 202 (Appendix).

² The spelling has been modernised, and an obsolete word altered here and there.—TRANSLATOR.

God, are the most principal criers out on the vices of kirkmen. If the Kirk had the old ancient liberty (as perchance some time it had) that a bishop was freely chosen by his chapter, the abbot and prior by the convent and of the convent, then should be qualified men in all estates of the Kirk—then should all heresies be stemmed, and the people well taught. This were the way to come in at the door to be a minister in the Kirk of God, which our Saviour speaks of, where now be tyranny and avarice (for the most part); as it were thieves and brigands, we creep in at windows or back-doors. . . . The day, the day, the terrible day shall come when the unhappy avaricious man shall lament the time that ever he had the brother, or son, to whom he bore such fleshly and ungodly favour as to raise him up to be a guider and ruler of Christ's flock, which could not guide himself; the unfortunate prince shall lament the time that ever he was so unjustly subject to the unreasonable desire of his subjects; the miserable ignorant, raised up in authority, shall curse the time that ever he took on him the charge which was noways convenient for him. In the meantime, the poor simple people, so dearly bought by the blood and death of Jesus Christ our Saviour, miserably perishes, the Kirk suffers scandal, God is dishonoured, all heresies, wickedness, and vice reign. As to me, I will say nothing; but humbly beseech the Lord

God to illuminate the hearts of the magistrates (specially such as have the authority to be the raisers-up of faithful ministers in the Kirk of God), to provide such qualified pastors as will do conformably to their vocation, and as may be to the glory of God. And also I beseech the living God, that they who are already ministers in the Kirk of God (specially who occupy the place of the Apostles by office and authority) call to remembrance the severe and rigorous sentence of the apostle, saying, ‘Woe be unto me if I preach not’; and also the words of the prophet, saying, ‘Woe be unto you pastors of Israel, who feed yourselves and not my flock.’ Whereby, the pastors doing their debt and devoir to the simple people committed to their cure, all heresies, wickedness, and vice should be suppressed, the Kirk freed from scandal, and God honoured, to whom be glory for ever.”¹

The burning words of the good abbot were the outcome of a heart instinct with the deepest love and loyalty to the Catholic Church. Without shutting his eyes to the abuses which like some foul parasite had grown up and clustered round her, he knew that those external excrescences in no way detracted from her essential perfection as the handiwork of God. It was meet indeed that they should be removed, but only by lawful authority and legitimate means; for there was

¹ Keith, *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 203 (Appendix).

little distinction between use and abuse in the minds of the self-constituted reformers, who, as he well knew, aimed at nothing less than the demolition of the whole fabric of the Church.

The publication of the “Tractive” created a considerable impression, and its arguments, we are told, were the means of reconciling many waverers to the communion of the Church.¹ For several years it remained unanswered; and it was not until 1563 that a reply was published by John Davidson, Principal of the College of Glasgow, at the instance of the Earl of Glencairn. “Davidson’s answer,” allows Mr Grub,² “is much inferior to the ‘Tractive,’ as well in learning as in style and expression.” The stock charges against the Catholic Church are spun out at tedious length, the general tone, however, of the writer being mild and free from bitterness. Davidson had been a fellow-student of his opponent at the university, and he alludes in his reply to the “auld Parisiane kyndnes that was betuixt us.”³

Abbot
Kennedy
and the
ex-friar
Willock.

In March 1559, we find Abbot Kennedy engaged in religious controversy in another quarter. Willock at this time was preaching at Ayr (where he had formerly been a friar) against the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass, alleging that

¹ Davidson himself admitted this. (*Charters of Crossraguel*, vol. i. p. xlvi.) See Leslie, *De Reb. Gest. Scotorum*, p. 540.

² *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 63.

³ *Charters of Crossraguel*, vol. i. p. xli.

his views were supported by Scripture as expounded by SS. Irenæus, Hilary, Chrysostom, and other fathers. The Abbot of Crossraguel arrived in Ayr on Easter eve; and shrewdly suspecting that Willock had only enlisted the fathers in his cause in the belief that their writings were unknown to his hearers, declared himself ready to prove that whoever asserts the Mass to be idolatrous is himself a heretic; and in the interpretation of Scripture on the point, he would be judged by the fathers and doctors to whom Willock himself had appealed. The ex-friar, while accepting the challenge, stultified himself by stating that he would only abide by their authority as far as they were in accordance with the Scriptures—"which," as the abbot remarks, "was as gude as right nougnt." In addition to this slippery line of argument, Willock broke the terms of the agreement between himself and his opponent by arriving on the scene of the contest with "some four or five hundred to fortifie him," instead of twelve followers merely, as the abbot had stipulated in order to avoid any chance of tumult. On the 7th of April, Abbot Kennedy wrote from Maybole a full account of the proceedings to the Archbishop of Glasgow. The letter, and the correspondence of the abbot with Willock, were printed by Keith¹ from manuscripts in the Scots College at Paris.

¹ *Affairs of Church and State*, pp. 193-199 (Appendix). Alluding

Measures
taken by
the Regent
against
heresy.

Mary of Guise, as we are specially told, kept the festival of Easter, 1559, with the full solemnity of Catholic ceremonial ; and about the same period we find a change taking place in her ecclesiastical policy. At the urgent instance of her brothers, the princes of Guise, she had consented a short time previously to join the league for the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in Europe ; and the arrival of Beltancourt on an embassy from the French Court, with the object of concluding negotiations on the subject, was at once followed by repressive measures against the spread of the Protestant doctrines.¹ A proclamation was issued, forbidding any one to preach or to administer the sacraments without the express authority of the bishops. The prohibition was entirely disregarded by the Reformed preachers, several of whom were consequently summoned to appear at Stirling, and answer for their violation of the law. The adherents of the Congregation determined to stand by their pastors, and mustered at Perth in considerable numbers.²

At this critical moment, when an actual conflict

to the *reductio ad absurdum* which marks the share of Willock in the above correspondence, Mr Lawson (the editor of Keith's works) remarks, "If private judgment is to be the rule of religious truth, then truth, instead of being one, as we know it is, will be multi-form."—*Affairs*, vol. iii. p. 404.

¹ Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 89, 90.

² Knox, *Historie*, p. 135.

between the opposing parties seemed inevitable, John Knox returned to Scotland. Since his departure in 1556, he had continued to fill the position of minister to the English Protestants at Geneva; and thence he had issued, in 1558, his "First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women," directed primarily against Mary of England, but intended without doubt to apply also to the then Government of Scotland. Although frequently solicited by his party in Scotland to return home, Knox did not deem it expedient to accept the invitation, until the accession of Elizabeth to the English throne secured him a safe retreat across the Border, should he again find himself forced to quit Scotland. Accordingly he left Geneva early in 1559, and landed at Leith on the 2d of May. On his arrival becoming known to the Government, he was at once proclaimed an outlaw; but escaping the hands of justice, he made his way, after a stay of two days in Edinburgh, to Dundee, where he found himself safe under the powerful protection of the Protestant lords.¹

Meanwhile the 10th of May, on which day the preachers had been summoned to Stirling, was at hand, and the leaders of the Congregation, with a numerous body of their followers, were assembled at Perth. Knox² says that they were unarmed;

Meeting of
the Congre-
gation at
Perth.

¹ Knox, *Historie*, p. 135.

² *Historie*, loc. cit. "Without armour, as peaceable men."

but we can hardly suppose this to have been so in the case of the barons and their retainers, the avowed object of whose presence at Perth was to protect the preachers, and intimidate the Government into abandoning the proceedings against them. Erskine of Dun, whose influence with the Protestants was considerable, went alone to Stirling, with a view of arranging matters amicably, if possible, with the Regent. In the hope of obtaining some concessions to his party, he prevailed upon them, at the queen's request, to remain at Perth, and not advance to Stirling. In the meantime the day arrived on which the preachers should have appeared before the Court; but as none of them answered to the summons, they were declared rebels according to law,¹ and their sureties, including Erskine himself, were fined.²

However harshly the Congregation may have judged the action thus taken by the Regent to vindicate the law, their own subsequent proceedings are sufficient to show how little they deserved indulgence at her hands. Day after day they

¹ See Keith; *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 84, note (a).

² Tytler, following Keith and Spottiswood, asserts that the Regent promised Erskine to cancel the summons against the ministers, and that her subsequent action against them was consequently a distinct breach of faith. I can find no contemporary authority for this statement, which is not corroborated by Bishop Leslie, or by Knox himself, who says nothing more than that the queen "promised to take some better order." See Grub, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 67, note.—TRANSLATOR.

occupied the pulpits of the various churches of Perth, holding forth in the most violent language on the so-called idolatry of the Mass,¹ and on the duty of rooting it out of the land. Knox himself preached on this subject on the 11th of May, Knox's sermon. in the parish church of St John. At the conclusion of his sermon, a priest appeared at the high altar, and prepared to celebrate Mass, first opening what Knox describes as a “glorious tabernacle”—probably a triptych, with folding doors, containing painted or sculptured images of the saints. Upon this, we are told, a boy, who had formed part of the congregation at Knox’s discourse, cried out, “This is intolerable, that when God by His Word hath plainly condemned idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despite.” The priest in indignation struck the precocious reformer, who at once seized a stone, and hurling it at him, broke to pieces one of the images above the altar. The effect upon the mob was electrical. Already excited almost to frenzy by Knox’s inflammatory harangue, they rose as one man, and in a brief space of time had dashed to pieces every ornament of the church. This done, they sallied forth, and reinforced by those whom Knox, in a vain attempt to divert the blame from him-

Inaugura-
tion of the
work of
destruc-
tion.

¹ Has the gross absurdity of this oft-repeated charge been ever better exposed than by Johnson’s pithy answer to his inquisitive friend? “BOSWELL. What do you think of the idolatry of the Mass? JOHNSON. Sir, there is no idolatry. *They believe God to be there and adore Him.*”—(Boswell, *Life*, vol. i. p. 561.)—TRANSLATOR.

self and the other leaders of the party, styles the “rascal multitude,”¹ attacked the religious houses of the town—the number and splendour of which had won for Perth the appellation of the “Fair City,” which it still retains—and reduced them to a heap of ruins. At the end of two days nothing was left but the bare walls of the Franciscan and Dominican convents, and of the magnificent monastery of the Carthusians, the foundation and burial-place of James I., and one of the finest religious establishments in the kingdom.² The work of destruction at Perth was speedily followed by like outrages in Cupar-Fife. The parish church was attacked by the rabble, and all the altars and images of the saints were destroyed. Such were the ill-omened deeds of violence that began the work of the Reformation in Scotland. It is folly to attribute them to chance, or to the hasty blow given by the priest at the altar of St John’s. Not only did Knox and his companions

¹ It would be interesting to know Dr Macleod’s authority for his statement (*St Giles’ Lectures*, 1st Series, p. 148) that “Knox did his best to check ‘the rascal multitude’ which ruined the churches of Perth.” Knox himself certainly says nothing to warrant this assertion.—TRANSLATOR.

² Knox adds to his relation various details as to the abundant supply of provisions and other stores which were found in the plundered monasteries. “These incidents,” observes Lawson (ed. of Keith, vol. i. p. 192), “are of course recorded by Knox as proofs of the sensuality of the monks; but it must be recollect that there were numerous claims upon them by noblemen and others, who were entertained by them profusely.” We may add that monastic hospitality was not less profuse towards the poor and needy.

directly instigate them by their denunciations from the pulpit, but by their subsequent proceedings they sanctioned, if they did not actually assist, in their perpetration. The outrages of the multitude, as Mr Grub has well pointed out,¹ could not have continued two days successively, had the nobles and preachers shown the least anxiety to check them.

The queen-regent received the tidings of these occurrences with the deepest grief and indignation, deplored especially the destruction of the Carthusian Church, the monument of royal liberality and burial-place of kings and queens. The perpetrators of the outrages were menaced with the utmost rigours of the law; in the meantime, however, safely intrenched in Perth, they defied Church and State alike. On May 22 they addressed a letter to the Regent, couched in a tone of assumed deference, and respectfully demanding liberty of worship. Another letter was sent to the nobles of the queen's party, containing an elaborate justification of their proceedings, which, they declared, had been in obedience to the command of God, "who plainly commands idolatry, and all monuments of the same, to be destroyed and abolished."² In a third communication, to the clergy of the Scottish Church, the Congregation intimated in unmistakable terms the line of its future policy. The character of

Indignation of the Regent.

Manifestoes issued by the Congregation.

¹ *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 69.

² Knox, *Historie*, p. 140.

this document is sufficiently indicated by its title. It is addressed “ To the generation of Anti-Christ, the pestilent prelates and their shavelings within Scotland, the Congregation of Christ Jesus within the same, sayeth——” The clergy are warned that they will be dealt with as murderers and enemies to God and man, wherever apprehended, unless they cease betimes from their “ blinde rage.” A war of extermination is to be commenced against them (such as God commanded to be executed against the Canaanites) until they desist from their “ open idolatry.” This extraordinary document concludes by blasphemously uniting, in language which even Tytler, although he has no words of condemnation for its author, allows “ cannot be read without sorrow,”¹ expressions of hate and vengeance with the holy Name of God and the Gospel of His Son. On which side the “ blind rage” really lay, was sufficiently testified by the desolate ruins of Perth and Cupar.

Justly incensed by this fresh insult to the

¹ *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 94. So Keith (*Affairs of Church and State*, p. 87) remarks: “ As the reader will observe the pestilent spirit and unmannerly stile of this paper, far, indeed, from the meekness that would have become the reformers of abuses in Christianity, so by the tenor thereof, and of their other letters to the queen-regent, &c., ‘tis pretty evident they had a moral certainty of victory, arising from the numbers that joined them; otherwise ‘tis much to be doubted if they would have writ in such a strain.” It was the support of England, as we shall see later, on which they relied in their schemes of rebellion.

Church, the Regent proceeded to lead her army against Perth. Meanwhile the rebel forces were augmented by the arrival of the Earl of Glencairn from the west of Scotland at the head of nearly three thousand men, with whom was the ex-friar Willock. Hostilities were on the point of commencing, when, through the mediation of the Earl of Argyll and Lord James Stuart, an arrangement was concluded between the opposing parties. The Protestants agreed, on certain conditions, to vacate Perth, and the Regent entered the town on the 29th of May. Knox¹ and Buchanan² assert that the articles of capitulation were violated by the queen, who maintained that she was not bound to keep faith with heretics, and that princes must not be strictly expected to keep their promises. This statement, however, is, to say the least, extremely doubtful;³ and the defection of the Earl of Argyll and Lord James Stuart to the Protestant cause, which took place at this time, is with much less probability to be attributed to the violation by the Regent of the terms of the treaty than to their own well-known inclinations to Protestantism, which they now found it advisable openly to profess for the first time.

Defections
from the
Catholic
cause.

Whatever may have been the motive which led Argyll and Lord James at this juncture to unite

¹ *Historie*, p. 148.

² *Rerum Scoticarum*, lib. xvi. fol. 191.

³ See Grub, *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 68.

themselves to the Congregation, their accession to its numbers was an important one, and they at once took a leading part in its proceedings. A fresh covenant was drawn up, which they were the first to sign, and the Congregation was summoned to assemble at St Andrews. On his way thither, accompanied by the barons of St Andrews, Knox preached at Crail and Anstruther, two sea-ports in Fife, with the result that the churches in these towns were at once wrecked by the mob. He next publicly announced that he would preach at St Andrews on the 11th of June. Archbishop Hamilton endeavoured to prevent the carrying out of this intention, but his efforts were frustrated by the determined resistance of the Protestants, and Knox delivered his sermon on the day announced. It was in his usual vein. The subject was the casting out of the buyers and sellers from the Temple, and the preacher drew a parallel between Jerusalem and Scotland, and dwelt on the duty of those in authority to follow the example recorded in the Gospel. Encouraged by the hardly veiled commands of the apostle of reform, provost, magistrates, and citizens hurried to the work of destruction, commencing with the noble cathedral. Nothing was spared. Windows were dashed to atoms — chalices, candlesticks, shrines of gold and silver carried off to be melted down — liturgical books and manuscripts, records, registers, and charters cast into the flames. The

The “ras-
cal multi-
tude” at St
Andrews.

venerable structure, which had been a hundred and sixty years in building, and in which reposed the earthly remains of so many of Scotland's worthiest and noblest sons, was in as many hours "reduced to a melancholy ruin, which may," as has been truly observed, "be justly termed Knox's monument."¹ The Franciscan and Dominican convents shared the fate of the cathedral.²

The reformers were now thoroughly warmed to their sacrilegious work, and the destruction of church and cloister proceeded apace. The Benedictine Abbey of Lindores was the next to suffer. The altars were thrown down, the vestments and liturgical books were heaped together and burned before the eyes of the monks, who were compelled by the mob to strip off their religious habits. The neighbouring monastery of Balmerino underwent the same fate. The venerable Abbey of Secone was now to be the victim of the blind fury of the populace. A letter had already been addressed by the Lords of the Congregation to the Bishop of Moray, the commendator of the abbey, informing him that the only hope of its preservation from destruction lay in his consent-

Destru-
tion of Lin-
dores.

Balmerino
and Secone.

¹ Lawson, ed. of Keith, *Affairs*, vol. i. p. 205, note.

² Contemporary writers, although they speak generally of the destruction of the churches of St Andrews at this time, do not specifically mention the cathedral. It is certain, however, that it was reduced to ruins at the time of the Reformation, and there is no room for doubt that the work of demolition was begun and probably completed immediately subsequent to Knox's sermon. Grub calls this "a tradition of very general reception."—TRANSLATOR.

ing to join their party. Without even waiting for an answer to this communication, a rabble of the townspeople of Dundee and Perth attacked the monastery. Some effort appears to have been made by Argyll and Lord James to stay the work of destruction, but in vain ; and in two days the noble abbey and the historic palace, with which were connected so many of the most stirring events in the annals of the country, were reduced to ruins. A few smoking walls were all that remained of the stately pile in which for centuries the Scottish kings had been anointed and crowned. Knox admits that those men who were most esteemed made strenuous efforts to save it from destruction¹—a fact which, as Bishop Keith truly observes,² “ might have made Mr *Knox* ashamed of his own conduct, by which he inflamed the passions of the multitude, and even urged them forward to these disorderly proceedings, that are such a scandal to themselves, and so contrary to the spirit of true Christianity. He ought to have blamed himself when he saw the dismal consequences which attended his fiery counsels ; since, as he himself relates, neither the principal lords and gentlemen, nor even he, the instigator, was able to put a stop to that religious, or rather irreligious, fury. ‘Tis an easy matter,” sagely concludes the historian, “ to raise the *Devil*, but few know how to lay him again.”

¹ *Historie*, p. 156.

² *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 93.

Leaving behind them the smouldering ruins of Scone, the rebels, of whom Argyll and Lord James were now the acknowledged leaders, continued their progress southward, spreading havoc and desolation wherever they went. At Stirling and Linlithgow (the birthplace of their young queen) churches and monasteries were plundered and destroyed; and the extensive abbey of Cambuskenneth was likewise razed to the ground. On the 29th of June the Congregation entered Edinburgh. Hitherto order had been preserved in the capital through the exertions of the provost, Lord Seton; but he was powerless any longer to prevent the work of spoliation. Every religious edifice in the city was sacked and demolished, not even the royal abbey-church of Holyrood itself escaping the hand of the spoiler.¹ The rebels then proceeded to rob the royal treasury, and to take violent possession of the Mint and the coining instruments belonging to it.²

The Congregation at Edinburgh.

¹ *Historie, loc. cit.* It is noticeable that we hear no more of the “rascal multitude,” on whose shoulders Knox (as his admirers are never tired of reminding us) at first endeavoured to shift the blame of these deeds of violence and pillage. He has no scruple now in identifying the work of the mob with the “reform” introduced by the Congregation; and when the business of plunder and destruction was over before their arrival, his only comment is, “thereby we were the lesser troubled in *putting order* [Knox’s favourite euphemism] to such places.”—TRANSLATOR.

² Leslie, *De Reb. Gest. Scotorum*, p. 509. It must be stated that Tytler’s account of these proceedings is singularly uncandid. He ignores altogether the violent deeds of the Congregation in Edinburgh, assumes that Kirkaldy’s letter to Percy, declaring that they had nothing in view but the “advancement of Christ’s religion,” was

In the midst of these stirring events, the schemes of the Reformers were threatened with frustration by an event which occurred in France. This was the death of King Henry II., who was succeeded by his son Francis II., the husband of Mary Queen of Scots. As was to be expected, the French at once realised the necessity of offering an active support to the Crown and Church of Scotland, both of which were seriously menaced by the Protestant party. A considerable body of troops was despatched from France, and placed at the disposal of the Regent. Towards the end of September, Nicholas de Pellevé, Bishop of Amiens (afterwards Cardinal and Archbishop of Sens), arrived at Leith as apostolic nuncio and legate *à latere* of Pope Paul IV. He was accompanied by Furnet, Brochet, and Forriteir, three distinguished doctors of the Sorbonne. The nuncio's first step was the solemn reconciliation of the collegiate church of St Giles, which had been desecrated by the heretics. The celebration of Mass and the other offices of the Church were again carried out in due form, and the labours and eloquence of the Paris doctors were rewarded, as Leslie assures us,

a perfectly honest statement of their intentions, and (strangest of all) leaves it to be inferred that the significant fact of their seizure of the Mint—which Knox himself admits, and which, coupled with the secret correspondence with England, opened many eyes to the true aims of the rebel party—was a mere report, trumped up into an accusation by the Regent. What, we may well ask, had the plundering of the treasury and the seizure of the coinage of the realm to do with the “advancement of Christ’s religion”?—TRANSLATOR.

Arrival of
a papal
legate.

by the confirmation of many waverers in the Catholic faith.¹

The arrival of the French troops was an additional source of irritation in the already disturbed state of feeling in Edinburgh, and every effort was made by both parties to enlist the sympathy of the people on their side. In the month of July a proclamation was issued by the Regent, setting forth that the Congregation under pretence of religion had put themselves in arms; and calling to mind her promise to summon a Parliament in the following January, or sooner if need be, to settle the religious question, and meanwhile to allow liberty of conscience to every man. "Nevertheless," the proclamation ran, "the said Congregation, being of mind to receive no reasonable offers, hath since, by open deed, declared that it is no religion, nor anything thereto pertaining, that they seek, but only the subversion of our authority and usurpation of our crown; in manifest witnessing whereof, they daily receive Englishmen with messages unto them, and send suchlike into England."² Mention is also made of the treasonable seizure of the Mint, and the Congregation is ordered to quit Edinburgh forthwith. We shall see before long what was the nature of the communications between the rebels

Royal pro-
clamation
against
the rebels.

¹ Leslie, *De Reb. Gest. Scotorum*, pp. 516, 517. Keith, *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 102.

² Knox, *Historie*, p. 157. Keith, *Affairs of Church and State*, pp. 94, 95.

and the agents of Queen Elizabeth. On the 28th of August the Regent issued a second proclamation, exposing the groundlessness of the apprehensions regarding the French troops, and calling attention in firm but temperate terms to the seditious and disloyal language employed by many of the preachers.¹ Knox himself admits that the effect of these proclamations on the popular mind was considerable. Many persons, indeed, who had hitherto secretly or publicly sympathised with the Protestant cause, now drew back, having no desire to be identified with treasonable designs against the Crown and Government of the realm.

Accessions
to the Pro-
testant
party.

Meanwhile, however, the ranks of the nobility were furnishing fresh recruits to the Congregation. Among these were the weak and vacillating Chatelherault, formerly regent, and Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Earl of Huntly, who, hitherto the most powerful champion of the Catholic cause, was himself now showing signs of wavering. Emboldened by this accession to their strength, the Congregation recommenced its congenial work of sacrilege and plunder. The noble abbeys of Paisley and Kilwinning were sacked and gutted, and almost immediately afterwards Dunfermline shared their fate. The Reformers now turned their attention once more to affairs of state, and took upon themselves to discuss the question of the deposition of the Regent. Opin-

¹ Knox, *Historie*, p. 172.

ions differed as to the expediency of this measure, and the impartial counsel of the preachers was sought and given. Knox and Willock strongly advised that Mary should be deprived of office, and their views were adopted. A document was addressed by the Congregation to the Regent, informing her that her functions were suspended, on the ground that she had acted contrary to the wishes of the young queen. “The queen-regent,” wrote Knox the same day to one of his English correspondents, “with public consent of the lords and barons assembled, is deprived of all authority and regiment among us. . . . The authority of the French king and queen is yet received, and will be, in word, *till they deny our most just requests.*”¹ Even Tytler can find nothing to say for this act of insolent insubordination. “It must be admitted,” he observes,² “that this violent and unprecedented measure, although attempted to be concealed under the name and authority of the sovereign, was an act of open rebellion, and that to attempt to justify their proceedings under the allegation that they were born councillors of the realm, was a specious but unsound pretence.”

The Congregation, however, found themselves as yet unequal to the task of carrying their audacious plans into execution; and on the 6th of November they were obliged to abandon Edin-

Pretended
deposition
of the
Regent.

¹ Quoted by Grub, *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 73.

² *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 113.

Retreat of
the Con-
gregation.

burgh¹ and retreat to Stirling. Had they not been supported from without, it cannot be doubted that the authority of the Regent would now have been completely re-established. It was at this critical juncture that the rebel lords succeeded in enlisting the powerful aid of Elizabeth of England, which ultimately turned the scale in favour of the Protestant cause.

On July 1, 1559, Kirkaldy of Grange had written to Sir Henry Percy, describing the doings of the Congregation. "The manner," he says, "of their proceeding in reformation is this: they pull down all manner of friaries and some abbeys, which willingly receive not the Reformation. As to parish churches, they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no masses be said in them; in place thereof the Book set forth by godly King Edward is read in the same churches."² The use of the Service-book of Edward VI. here referred to was, of course, sanctioned by Knox, who in all such matters was supreme in the Congregation; and the fact bears remarkable testimony to the convenient elasticity of his religious views. Four years ago, as we have seen,³ he had stoutly resisted, on conscientious grounds, the adoption of this same Service-book, with its half-Catholic, half-Protestant

Inconsistency of
Knox.

¹ According to Tytler, they quitted the capital amid the shouts and insults of a great proportion of the citizens.—TRANSLATOR.

² *Hist. of Scotland*, p. 100. *State Papers* (Scotland), vol. i. No. 48.

³ See *ante*, p. 222.

ritual, by his flock at Frankfort ; and rather than sanction its introduction, he had resigned his ministry in that town. Now, however, the paramount object of the Congregation was to secure the goodwill of Elizabeth ; and Knox was not the man to let his personal convictions stand in the way of the success of his party. But the Reformer's ill-advised denunciations of female rule were even a greater crime in the eyes of the " Virgin Queen " than his Calvinistic leanings ; and the supreme head of the Anglican Church had in truth a sound detestation of Knox and all his works. His applications for leave to preach in the north of England were repeatedly refused, and he was not even allowed to set foot within the queen's dominions. Even the powerful influence of Cecil was unable to soften her antipathy. The latter, writing to Sadler and Crofts (the Governor of Berwick), says,— " Of all others, Knox's name is most odious here, and I wish no mention of him hither." Knox himself was quite ready to eat up his words. He wrote to Cecil to that effect on July 12, begging his intercession with Elizabeth ;¹ and eight days later he addressed a cringing letter to the queen, declaring that her displeasure was so grievous and intolerable to his wretched heart that only the testimony of his clean conscience prevented him from sinking in despair.²

Knox's
truckling
to Queen
Elizabeth.

¹ *State Papers* (Scotland), Elizabeth, vol. i. No. 57.

² *Ibid.*, No. 65. Knox, *Historie*, pp. 224-227.

Her antipathy to him.

Elizabeth's personal aversion to Knox, however, did not prevent her giving every encouragement to the schemes of the Congregation. "In any wise," wrote Cecil to Sir James Crofts (July 8, 1559), "do you endeavour to *kindle the fire*, for if it should quench, the opportunity thereof will not arise in our lives; and that the Protestants mean to do would be done with all speed, for it will be too late when the French power cometh."¹ The Queen of England was specially desirous to break the power of the great Catholic house of Guise, and therefore viewed with secret pleasure the revolt from the authority of the Regent, headed by Lord James Stuart, and his rumoured ambition to secure the crown for himself. Sir Ralph Sadler was sent from the English Court to Berwick to ascertain whether he really aimed at the possession of the Scottish throne. "If he do," wrote Cecil in his instructions to Sadler, "it shall not be amiss to let him follow his own device therein, without dissuading or persuading him anything therein."² As yet, however, no substantial aid was forthcoming from the English Court in support of the cause of the Congregation, who were much in need of such assistance. Knox was despatched to Berwick, on a mission more befitting a general, it might be thought, than a

¹ *State Papers* (Scotl.), Eliz., vol. i., No. 65. Tytler, *Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 100, note.

² *State Papers* (Scotl.), Eliz., vol. i. Nos. 88-90.

minister of the Reformed Gospel. In a secret interview with the governor, he undertook that the Congregation would seize and garrison Stirling, on condition that the English would supply funds not only to pay the troops, but also for the "comfortable support" of some of the more needy nobles.¹ The Reforming lords, in fact, saw no reason why they should not be paid by Elizabeth for their treason to their own Government, as their predecessors had been by Henry VIII. Knox, indeed, plainly intimates as much; for in a letter to Cecil, dated August 15, in which he urgently requests a reply to his proposals, he thus concludes: "It was much marvelled that the queen's majesty wrote no manner of answer, considering that her good father disdained not lovingly to write to men fewer in number, and far inferior in authority and power, than be those that wrote to her Grace."² Knox undoubtedly alludes in this passage to the correspondence between Henry VIII. and the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, and it manifestly implies his approval both of their proceedings and of the encouragement which they received from the English monarch. His appeal to the filial feelings of Elizabeth was apparently effectual; for in a few days Sadler arrived at Berwick, bringing with him three

Negotiations between the Congregation and the English Government.

¹ From the MS. *Instructions* (State Paper Office), in Knox's own hand.

² *State Papers* (Scotl.), Eliz., vol. i. No. 97.

thousand pounds for the Congregation. In the following month Balnaves (who had been concerned in Beaton's assassination, and was an intimate friend of Knox) arrived in Berwick, and further explained to the English emissary the intentions of his party.¹ These included the deposition of the Regent, the investing of Chatelherault or his son with the supreme authority, and the conclusion of a treaty with England. Balnaves returned to the north with an additional subsidy of two thousand pounds.

The Treaty
of Berwick.

After negotiations extending over several months, an understanding was at length arrived at between the leaders of the Congregation and the English Government. On February 27, 1560, a treaty was signed at Berwick between the Duke of Norfolk on behalf of Queen Elizabeth, and Lord James Stuart and others, representing the Lords of the Congregation. An alliance, offensive and defensive, against France was agreed to, and the treaty was subscribed not only by the leading nobles of the Congregation, but also by the abbots of Kinloss and Culross, and the commendators of Arbroath, Kilwinning, and Incholm.² It must be noted that everything relating to religious questions was carefully excluded from the terms of the treaty.³ It purported to be nothing more than a

The reli-
gious ques-
tion ig-
nored.

¹ Knox, *Historie*, p. 229.

² The text of the treaty is given by Knox (*Historie*, pp. 233 seq.) and Keith (*Affairs of Church and State*, pp. 117-119).

³ Tytler admits that this omission throws a curious side-light on

political arrangement devised to overthrow the authority of the Regent, and to exhibit the Congregation in a new and striking light as the patriotic defenders of their country against French aggression. The designs of the party against the Church were purposely kept in the background, with the object of gaining the support of a larger number of adherents. This fact is particularly noteworthy, as illustrating the duplicity of the Protestant leaders, and as serving to dispose of the preposterous theory which would maintain that the Catholic people of Scotland unanimously and spontaneously abandoned their faith and hastened to embrace the new Gospel. As a matter of fact, the Reformation was only successfully imposed upon the country when Elizabeth at length resolved to support the cause of the Congregation, and to adopt a policy which, however expedient for her purposes at the time, "was in itself," as an unprejudiced historian has observed, "wicked and unjust, and though apparently successful, was fraught with evils which

the lofty professions of Knox and his party. "A somewhat mortifying view," he says (*Hist. of Scotl.*, vol. iii. p. 116), "is presented to us of the early Reformers in this country, when we find that after all the solemn warnings denounced against trusting too exclusively to an arm of flesh, Knox and Balnaves consented to purchase the co-operation of mere human power, by omitting all allusion to that great cause of religious reformation which they had so repeatedly represented as the paramount object for which they had taken up arms, and were ready to sacrifice their lives."—TRANSLATOR.

produced results fatal to the happiness and well-being of both kingdoms.”¹

Further
“reforms”
in Scot-
land.

Although religion was, as we have seen, a forbidden subject at Berwick, yet by their proceedings elsewhere during the progress of the negotiations, the Congregation gave ample proof that their godly zeal for reform had not grown cold. In January 1560, the barons of the Mearns, who had all along displayed special enthusiasm in the good cause, crossed the Dee to Aberdeen, where they demolished the Dominican and Carmelite convents. The houses of the Franciscan and Trinitarian friars only escaped a similar fate through the active interference of the citizens; while the venerable cathedral of St Machar was saved by the vigorous efforts of the official, John Leslie, afterwards Bishop of Ross, assisted by the Earl of Huntly.² Meanwhile Chatelherault, Glencairn, and their followers, were making Glasgow the scene of their labours in the cause of reform. Not content with sacking and plundering the churches, they attacked and took possession of the archbishop’s palace, and then proceeded to issue forged proclamations, in the name of the King and Queen of Scots, abolishing the ecclesiastical courts, and ordering the Catholic clergy to renounce their

The Con-
gregation
at Glas-
gow.

¹ Grub, *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 74.

² Leslie, *De Reb. Gest. Scotorum*, p. 520. Keith, *Affairs*, p. 121. The chancel of the cathedral was demolished by the Reformers a year or two later.—TRANSLATOR.

faith and conform to the Congregation.¹ These audacious measures, however, were defeated by the prompt action of the Regent. A body of troops was sent to Glasgow under the command of Lords Semple, Seton, and Ross : the rebels fled at their approach, the archbishop recovered possession of his palace, and order was speedily restored in the city.²

In pursuance of the provisions of the Treaty of Berwick, an English army of eight thousand men, led by Lords Grey and Scrope, Sir James Crofts and Sir Henry Percy, entered Scotland in the first weeks of April ; while at the same time a fleet, consisting of fourteen war-vessels, under Admiral Winter, appeared off Leith. The 14th of the month witnessed the commencement of hostilities, and the inauguration of the policy by which Elizabeth hoped to establish the Protestant religion in Scotland. For a time, however, fortune by no means smiled on the Congregation and their English allies, and their repeated attacks upon Leith were resolutely repulsed by the Regent's troops.³ Reinforcements were sent from England to aid in the assault, but the garrison and people of Leith continued to hold out gallantly against the besiegers. Meanwhile the surrounding country was devastated by the Con-

Arrival in
Scotland
of English
troops,
April 1560.

¹ Keith, *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 111.

² *Ibid.* Leslie, *De Reb. Gest. Scotorum*, p. 519.

³ *State Papers* (Scotl.), Eliz., vol. iii. Nos. 73-80.

gregational troops, the Catholic clergy being the chief sufferers. The palaces and property of the Bishops of Ross, Dunkeld, and Dunblane were seized from their owners; the noble abbeys of Dunfermline, Kelso, and Melrose, the last a marvel of architectural beauty, were plundered and demolished; and the benefices of the inferior clergy were confiscated, agents being appointed to collect the rents.¹

Illness and
death of
the queen-
regent.

In the midst of these scenes of strife and violence, an event was at hand which was to be a grievous blow to the Catholic hopes. The queen-regent had long been in ill-health; and we cannot wonder if her grief² at the unhappy state of Scotland, distracted by the miseries of a civil war which she had so earnestly striven to avert, served to hasten her dissolution. Feeling her end approaching, she desired an interview with the leaders of the Congregation, including the Duke of Chatelherault, Lord James Stuart, and the Earls of Glencairn and Marischal. They were accordingly admitted into Edinburgh Castle, where she was lying sick; and the account of what passed is singularly touching. Mary expressed her deep sorrow at the troubles that had

¹ Leslie, *De Reb. Gest. Scotorum*, p. 527.

² In a conference which she held with some of the rebel lords as to the terms of peace, the Regent, we are told, could not refrain from tears. Norfolk, in one of his letters to Cecil (May 15), speaks with unfeeling brutality of the queen's *blubbering* (*State Papers, Scotl., Eliz.*, vol. iii. No. 87).—TRANSLATOR.

fallen upon the country, and earnestly exhorted the nobles to aim at securing peace, and to be true and loyal to their lawful queen. "And at last," we are told, "she burst forth into tears, asking pardon of all those whom she had in any manner of way offended, and most heartily forgiving those who had offended her, wishing them also pardon and forgiveness at the hand of God."¹ The dying lady then embraced the nobles one by one, giving the rest who stood by her hand to kiss, in token of her sincerity and charity. One might have hoped that she would have now been allowed to die in peace, with the consolations of that religion which she had loved so well and practised so faithfully. Her last moments, however, were disturbed by the insults of the preacher Willock, whom the Protestant lords urged her to receive. The expiring queen willingly professed, as a Christian and a Catholic, that there was no salvation save in the death of Christ; but when called upon by Willock to renounce the "abomination of the Mass," she remained meekly silent. She expired on the following day, June 10, 1560.²

It has been generally allowed that Mary of Guise possessed many of the qualities requisite in the peculiarly difficult position which she was called upon to fill. To a clear understanding and

Her character.

¹ Keith, *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 128.

² *Ibid.* Leslie, *De Reb. Gest. Scotorum*, p. 525. Knox gives the date as June 9, and Mr Grub (*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 76), for some unexplained reason, as June 11.—TRANSLATOR.

a resolute will, she happily united a conciliatory disposition and a sincere piety, which gained the esteem even of those whose policy and religion were most opposed to her own. Knox alone, of Aspersions of Knox. Catholic and Protestant historians alike, permits himself, without a shadow of proof, to cast the vilest aspersions on her moral character,¹ and to gloat over her last illness and death in the most revolting and offensive language.² It is in truth difficult to read without indignation the foul and calumnious slanders uttered by the apostle of reform, whose own moral character was so far from immaculate,³ against a princess whose only crime in his eyes was her constant fidelity to the cause of lawful authority and of the Catholic Church. Knox carried his enmity even beyond the grave ;

¹ "He asserts," remarks Hosack (*Mary Q. of Scots*, vol. i. p. 49, note), "that she was the mistress of Cardinal Beaton, and even that the Cardinal was the father of Mary. He further insinuates that she was the mistress of D'Oysell [the French ambassador], &c."—TRANSLATOR.

² Knox, *Historie*, pp. 243, 245. The words are too gross for quotation.

³ We have no wish to enter into the unsavoury subject of Knox's reputed immoralities. It will be sufficient to observe (1) that three of his contemporaries, Nichol Burne, James Laing, and Archibald Hamilton, agree in testifying to notorious vices of which he was guilty at various times; (2) that these charges were repeated as well-known facts in a work published by Fr. Alexander Baillie in 1628; (3) that there appears to be no contemporary evidence whatever in refutation of them; and (4) that they cannot be considered as disposed of by the mere denial (however strongly worded) of M'Crie and other modern admirers of the Reformer's life and character. See Wilmot, *Scottish Reformation*, pp. 55 seq. Stevenson, *Scotland and Rome*, p. 59.—TRANSLATOR.

and we cannot doubt that it was at his instigation that the last indignity was offered to the Regent by refusing Catholic burial to her remains. "Question being moved," says Calderwood,¹ "about her burial, the preachers boldly gainstooed to the use of any superstitious rites in that realm, which God Himself had begun to purge. Her burial was deferred till further advisement; her corpse was lapped in a coffin of lead, and kept in the castle from the 10th of June till the 19th of October,² at which time it was carried by some pioneers to a ship, and transported to France." The mortal remains of Mary of Guise at length found repose in the Benedictine Abbey of Rheims, of which her sister was at that time abbess.

The war had meanwhile dragged on for several months without any result save the misery and desolation which it entailed upon the country. All parties were by this time heartily anxious for peace, and commissioners were despatched from England and France in order to negotiate the terms of pacification. These were drawn up in the form of concessions granted by the King and Queen of Scots to the nobility and people of Scotland, and were finally agreed upon at Edinburgh (subject to the sanction of the sovereigns) on July 8, 1560. They provided for the holding of a

¹ MS. Calderwood (British Mus.), vol. i. p. 421 (Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 121).

² The *Diurnal of Occurrents*, however, gives the date as March 16, 1561.—TRANSLATOR.

Parliament on the 1st of August next following, these concessions being meanwhile notified to the king and queen for their confirmation. Peace and war were not to be made by the king or queen without the consent of the Estates. A council of state was to be formed, consisting of twelve persons, seven selected by the queen and the remainder by the Estates. The high offices of state were to be held only by natives, no ecclesiastic being eligible as treasurer or controller. An Act of Oblivion was to be passed by the Parliament, exempting those who had contravened the laws of the realm from all pains and penalties. There was to be a general peace and reconciliation among all the queen's subjects, of whatever party. Neither nobles nor other persons were to assemble in arms, or to call in foreign soldiers, under penalty of being considered and dealt with as rebels. Bishops, abbots, and other churchmen who had received any injury in person or property, would receive reparation from the Parliament;¹ and all persons were forbidden to do them any wrong. The questions regarding religion, which were of too great importance to be meddled with by the commissioners, would be remitted to the king and queen for settlement, by persons specially chosen for that purpose in the ensuing Parliament.²

¹ We shall see before long how this provision was carried out.

² Keith, *Affairs of Church and State*, pp. 137-143.

It will be seen that the terms of the Treaty of Edinburgh do not authorise any hostile measures against the Church. On the contrary, the right of her prelates to sit in Parliament is recognised, and redress is promised to them for the injuries they have received in the late troubles. No formal encouragement, on the other hand, is given to the designs of the Congregation. Elizabeth, indeed, in order to keep up the fiction of her having interfered solely to assist in securing the political independence of Scotland, had given orders that no reference was to be made in the treaty to the religious questions at issue.¹ Personally, as we know, she had not the slightest sympathy with the opinions of the Scottish Protestants, and still less for their great leader and apostle.

The provisions of the treaty, nevertheless, including, as they did, a general amnesty to the rebel lords and their followers, and the permission to assemble a Parliament within a few months, were a virtual victory for the Congregation. On July 17, Chatelherault, Lord James, Argyll, and other nobles, wrote to Queen Elizabeth, thanking her for her assistance in procuring the settlement of the treaty, and assuring her that the realm was more beholden to her than to its own sovereign for the security and liberty of the subjects.² The conclusion of the treaty was in truth regarded with very much less satisfaction in France than it

Triumph
of the Con-
gregation.

¹ *State Papers* (Scotl.), Eliz., vol. iv. No. 9 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, No. 85.

was by the leaders of the Congregation and at the English Court. The French commissioners had been specially instructed absolutely to ignore the Treaty of Berwick, and to take care that no protection was extended by the new agreement to the Protestant leaders, who were regarded by their sovereign simply as rebels in arms against the lawful authority of the realm. By permitting, therefore, the insertion of the clauses which gave complete amnesty and condonation to the Congregation and their followers, the commissioners had altogether exceeded their instructions. The same remark may be applied to that article of the treaty which authorised the assembling of a Parliament without the issue of any writ by the sovereign. Francis and Mary justly considered this as an infringement of the royal prerogative, and refused to sanction it. The point is an important one, as bearing directly on the question (which was afterwards actually raised) as to whether the meeting of the Estates which took place in the following August was really a Parliament at all, and consequently on the force and legality of the statutes enacted by that assemblage.

Increase of
adherents
to Protes-
tantism.

The brightening prospects of Protestantism had meanwhile induced many persons who had hitherto been afraid or ashamed to confess their opinions, openly to profess adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation. Among those who thus went with the stream were Alexander Gordon, styled

Archbishop of Athens and Bishop of Galloway (although he had never received consecration); John Winram, the sub-prior of St Andrews, who had, as we know, been formerly one of the most energetic champions of the Church; and John Greyson, the provincial of the Dominicans. The latter, on March 17, 1560, read a public profession of Protestantism in the parish church of St Andrews. In this document, which has been preserved in the records of the kirk-session of St Andrews,¹ the ex-friar expresses his sorrow for having so long maintained and defended "divers kinds of superstition and idolatry," and then proceeds to renounce and abjure the Pope, the sacrifice of the Mass, purgatory, the invocation of the saints, prayers for the dead, transubstantiation, confession, and the celibacy of the clergy.² The convert to Protestantism was apparently unequal to providing any articles of belief in the place of those which he disposed of so sweepingly. His profession of faith (if we may call it so) consists of nothing but negations, and we search it in vain for any declaration whatever of positive doctrine. John Row was another who conformed to Protes-

¹ Printed by Lee, *Lectures on the Hist. of the Ch. of Scot.*, vol. ii. pp. 107, 108.

² Mr Grub (*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 77) makes the singular remark that the document "shows how far the Protestant doctrines were at this time adopted by those who belonged to the reforming school within the Church." We need hardly point out that no "school within the Church" could for a single moment hold the opinions cited, without *ipso facto* ceasing to belong to it.—TRANSLATOR.

tantism about this time. He had been educated at the University of St Andrews, where he practised as an advocate in the Church courts. He afterwards resided for eight years in Rome, in the capacity of agent there for the Scottish Church ; and while in Italy he took the degree of doctor of laws at Padua. He is said to have been in high favour with both Pope Julius III. and Paul IV. In 1559, his health having broken down, Row returned to Scotland, and in the following year we find him among the ranks of the Reformers, having been persuaded, it would seem, by Knox and Lord James Stuart, to embrace the Protestant opinions.¹ The name of Adam Heriot, a canon of St Andrews, is also recorded among those who became Protestants about this time.

Increased activity of the Congregation.

The Congregation lost no time in utilising the advantages which it had gained in the provisions of the Treaty of Edinburgh, by increased activity in the chief centres of population throughout the country. Preachers were appointed to the principal towns, Knox being named for Edinburgh, Goodman to St Andrews, Heriot to Aberdeen, Row to Perth, Methven to Jedburgh, Christison to Dundee, Ferguson to Dunfermline, and Lind-

¹ The absurd story of Row's conversion through the exposure of a pretended miracle at Loretto is not supported by a particle of contemporary evidence. Knox would have been the last man to omit recording an incident so much to his taste, and his silence may be considered effectually to disprove its authenticity. See Grub, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. pp. 80-83.—TRANSLATOR.

say to Leith. Superintendents were at the same time named for the various districts, Glasgow being intrusted to Willock, Angus and the Mearns to Erskine of Dun, Argyle and the Isles to Carsewell, parson of Kilmartin, Fife to John Winram, and Lothian to John Spottiswood.¹ A day was appointed for the holding of a solemn service in St Giles's Church, in thanksgiving for the Treaty of Edinburgh. Knox has preserved in his History² what purported to be a prayer delivered on the occasion, probably by himself. It refers, in the violent terms characteristic of the Reformer, to the misery and idolatry from which they had been delivered through the instrumentality of their "confederates of England," and calls upon God to confound the counsels of all who attempt to break the godly league contracted with that country.³ The prayer concludes with a petition, which, it may be hoped, was made in all sincerity, for the grace of Christian charity—a virtue, it must be owned, that had not been hitherto conspicuous in the Congregation.

As provided by one of the articles of the treaty, the Estates duly assembled at Edinburgh on the 1st of August, the numbers of those

Assembly
of the
Estates at
Edinburgh.

¹ Knox, *Historie*, p. 253. Keith, *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 145.

² Pp. 252, 253.

³ *Ibid.* "Nothing is more odious in Thy presence, O Lord, than the ingratitude and violation of an oath and covenant made in Thy name." Did Knox recall, in uttering these words, his own solemn ordination vows, and how he had kept them?—TRANSLATOR.

present being, as was to be expected, unusually large.¹ Among the ecclesiastics who were present were the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane; the titular Bishops of Galloway, Argyle, and the Isles; the Prior of St Andrews; the Abbots of Lindores, Cupar, New Abbey, Ferne, and Kinloss; and the Commendators of Arbroath, Holyrood, Jedburgh, Newbottle, Dundrennan, Dryburgh, Inchcolm, Culross, Kilwinning, Deer, Coldingham, and St Mary's Isle.² The Archbishop of Glasgow had already quitted Scotland, and was living in Paris;³ the Bishops of Aberdeen, Ross, and Moray did not attend, and the remaining sees were vacant. The Earl of Huntly, who was still looked on as the leading Catholic noble, excused himself on the ground of sickness.⁴

Laymen
holding
ecclesiasti-
cal digni-
ties.

It must not be forgotten that a large proportion of the ecclesiastics above mentioned were so only in name. Many of them were cadets of noble houses, whose chief anxiety, in view of the expected spoliation of the Church, was to retain in their families the lucrative benefices which were at present in their gift. Such were Lord James Stuart, Prior of St Andrews; his brother Robert, Commendator of Holyrood; and Lord

¹ Knox, *Historie*, loc. cit. "The assembly was great."

² Keith, *Affairs*, p. 146.

³ Leslie, *De Reb. Gest. Scotorum*, p. 529.

⁴ *State Papers* (Scotl.), Eliz., vol. v. No. 6; Thomas Randolph to Cecil.

James Hamilton, Commendator of Arbroath. John Stuart was titular Abbot of Coldingham; Patrick Leslie, son of the Earl of Rothes, Abbot of Lindores; Donald, son of the Earl of Argyll, Abbot of Cupar-Angus. Jedburgh and Newbottle were in the possession of the powerful family of Kerr; while Superintendent Winram, sub-prior of St Andrews, sat as Commendator of Portmoak. Many of these spiritual dignitaries, as we know, not only were mere laymen, but ranked among the most prominent supporters of the Congregation. The strength of the Protestant party in the Parliament was further augmented by the large number of lesser barons who claimed to sit in the assemblage, and who professed Protestantism at least as much, it is safe to assume, in the hope of enriching themselves from the spoils of the Church as from conscientious conviction. Their right to sit and vote in this Parliament has been clearly shown to be more than questionable.¹ The Treaty of Edinburgh, it is true, provided that all might attend it "who are in use to be present." But it was notorious that for nearly a century hardly more than one or two of the inferior barons had sat in Parliament, and this in each case by special writ. "It might well, therefore," remarks Keith, "be

The lesser
barons.

¹ Keith, *Affairs of Church and State*, pp. 147, 148. *State Papers*, vol. v. No. 8; Randolph to Cecil, enclosing a copy of the claim of the lesser barons to sit in Parliament.

deemed somewhat *unusual* for a hundred of them to jump all at once into the Parliament, especially in such a juncture as the present.”

Doubtful
legality of
the assem-
bly.

The real question at issue, however, was not whether the lesser barons were really entitled to the seat in Parliament which they claimed, but whether the meeting of the Estates in August 1560, assembling as they did without the sovereign’s writ, and in pursuance of a treaty whose provisions she had refused to sanction, had in truth any right to be styled a Parliament at all.¹ Many of those present warmly disputed the legality of the assemblage in default of any commission from the king and queen, and the discussion on the subject lasted for eight days. The objection was finally overruled by vote of the members, and it was decided that the Parliament should continue to sit.² The election of the Lords of the Articles (on whom, it will be remembered,

¹ Except as bearing on the legality of the statutes subsequently enacted against the Church, this question, which is complicated by the ambiguity of certain articles of the Treaty of Edinburgh, is one pertaining rather to the civil than the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. The reader will find an exhaustive dissertation on the subject in the Appendix to the Bannatyne edition of Spottiswood’s History (vol. i. p. 378). It is sufficient to mention here that most historians who have treated of the matter agree that the validity of this so-called Parliament was more than questionable; and this opinion is shared even by those who, like Robertson, exult in the work of destruction which it accomplished. See Robertson, *Hist. of Scotland* (ed. 1802), vol. i. p. 235. Keith, *Affairs of Church and State*, pp. 148, 149. Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 133. Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 89.—TRANSLATOR.

² Spottiswood, *History*, vol. i. p. 325.

devolved the duty of introducing all measures) speedily showed what was the spirit of the assemblage. The temporal lords, in choosing according to custom certain of the spiritual estate to serve in that capacity, took care to elect only such as were known to favour the new religion; and the indignant protest of the Catholic prelates at so unfair a proceeding was entirely disregarded.¹

The Parliament, thus constituted, commenced its sittings under the presidency of Maitland of Lethington, who had been chosen Speaker or "harangue - maker."² The first business that came before the assembly was the presentation of a petition from the Protestants, couched as usual in the most intemperate language, and praying for the total abolition of the doctrine and teaching of the Catholic Church. Special mention is made of the dogmas of transubstantiation, the adoration of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, the merit of good works, purgatory, and prayers for the dead—which doctrines, the petitioners charitably declare, cannot but bring damnation to the souls of all infected with them. The whole body of the clergy are next attacked in the most gross and violent terms, the petitioners formally undertaking to prove that "in all the rabble" there is not one lawful minister,

^{Protestant petition.}

¹ Spottiswood, *History*, vol. i. p. 326. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

² *State Papers* (Scotl.), Eliz., vol. v.; Randolph to Cecil (August 8-10).

but that all without exception are thieves, murderers, rebels, and traitors, and therefore unworthy to be suffered in any reformed commonwealth. The Parliament is adjured in the name of Christ to compel the clergy to answer these charges, or else to deprive them of all authority and charge in the Church, and voice in the Parliament of the realm. The memorialists boldly assert, in conclusion, that this petition is not theirs but God's, speaking through His servants, and pray that those to whom it is presented may have "upright hearts, and true understanding" of what is requested of them.¹

The names of the subscribers to this extraordinary document, which Tytler says "it is difficult to read without emotions of sorrow and pity," do not appear. Previous to its presentation, Knox had been vigorously exerting himself to work up the feelings and passions of his supporters into full harmony with its sentiments. While, on the one hand, the self-constituted Parliament was meditating the final assault on the venerable fabric of the Scottish Church, and the weal or woe of countless souls was, as it were, trembling in the balance, Knox, on the other, was delivering in Edinburgh, "on some texts of the prophet Haggai," a course of inflammatory discourses, which he himself allows were "special and vehement." Not content with his usual

¹ Knox, *Historie*, pp. 254-256.

attacks upon the Church, he repeatedly called upon the nobles to restore the ecclesiastical property of which they had become possessed, and to devote it to the support of the preachers. This advice was far from palatable to the Protestant lords, who by no means relished the application of so practical a test to their pure zeal for the Gospel. However, "albeit some mocked,"¹ says Knox, "yet others were godly moved;" and it was from this section of the party that the petition to Parliament emanated. It was probably the composition of Knox himself, and contained, besides what has been already specified, a pointed allusion to the patrimony of the Church, and the use to which it was desired to apply it.

On the presentation of the petition, it was ordered, after some discussion,² that the Protestants should draw up and lay before Parliament a summary of the doctrines which they desired established. Accordingly, within four days they presented a document purporting to be the "Confession of Faith professed and believed by the Protestants within the Realm of Scotland." It was first, according to the usual form, examined and approved by the Lords of the Articles, who on the 17th of August brought it before

Presentation to Parliament of the "Confession of Faith."

¹ Knox, *loc. cit.* One of the mockers was the Speaker of the Parliament, Maitland of Lethington, whose ironical comment on the preacher's words was, "We may now forget ourselves, and bear the barrow to build the house of God."—TRANSLATOR.

² Knox, *Historie*, p. 252.

the full assembly. The feeling appears to have been general that there was no need of prolonged discussion on the subject. To the Catholic party it might well seem useless, in face of the packed and overwhelming majority of their opponents ; while the latter doubtless deemed it altogether superfluous. Such was their violent determination to brook no opposition to their wishes, that the Duke of Chatelherault is said to have threatened his brother, the Primate, with death if he spoke a word against them.¹ Some objection, however, was raised by the prelates when the time arrived for putting the question to the vote.

Action of
the bishops.

The Archbishop, with the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, demanded delay ; they expressed their willingness to reform abuses which had crept into the Church, but urged that time was required for study and deliberation before passing such a measure as the one before them.² The prelates did not choose to say anything on the merits of the case, or in refutation of the doctrines of the Confession, in consequence of which the Earl Marischal, with more sarcasm than truth, assumed that they were unable to gainsay it. Besides the

¹ Tytler asserts this on the authority of Keith (*Affairs of Church and State*, p. 150). He has, however, overlooked Keith's admission (*ibid.*, p. 488, note) that the passage in the letter of Archbishop Hamilton to which he had referred does not imply what he had supposed. See *post*, p. 306, and note.—TRANSLATOR.

² *State Papers* (Scotl.), Eliz., vol. v. No. 10; W. Maitland to Cecil (Aug. 18).

three bishops and the Abbot of Kilwinning, the Earls of Cassilis, Caithness, and Athole, and Lords Somerville and Borthwick, alone voted against the adoption of the Confession, the two latter giving simply as their reason, "We will believe as our fathers believed."¹ The new standard of faith was accordingly passed, and received the formal sanction of the assemblage.

It is hardly necessary to point out that, by its action in this matter, the self-constituted Parliament was directly violating the last article of the Treaty of Edinburgh, which had expressly provided that the religious question at issue should be remitted to the king and queen for settlement, commissioners being specially chosen for that purpose. The assembly had itself appealed to the provisions of the treaty in order to prove its claims to be considered a lawful Parliament. That treaty had only been concluded, as we have seen, in consequence of the French commissioners altogether exceeding the instructions they had received, and had never been ratified by the sovereign. But even had it the full force which was

Sanction
the Con-
fession.

Unconsti-
tutional
proceed-
ings of Par-
liament.

¹ According to Knox (*Historie*, p. 230), only these two lords and the Earl of Athole voted against the Confession. A letter from Randolph to Cecil (*State Papers*, Scotl., Eliz., vol. v. No. 11, Aug. 19) mentions only Caithness and Cassilis; while Archbishop Hamilton, writing to Archbishop Beaton (Keith, *Affairs*, p. 489), states that the two latter earls were absent from the voting. The Primate ought to have known; but if they were absent, it was only on this occasion, for their names occur on the roll of those present at the Parliament (Keith, *Affairs*, p. 146).—TRANSLATOR.

claimed for it by the Parliament, it is clear that it expressly withheld from them the power of religious legislation, and that the act by which they sanctioned the adoption of the Protestant Confession was undoubtedly illegal.

Irregular, however, as the whole proceedings unquestionably were, it appears difficult altogether to justify the part taken in them by the bishops. Matters had evidently reached a crisis. It seemed impossible to be blind to the fact that the Church was face to face with destruction, from which no human power could save her. It cannot but appear singular that the representatives of that Church should be content at such a moment with a simple protest, on the ground of the impossibility of discussing matters on such short notice. It was an occasion, one might suppose, when the Episcopate might well have asserted its position, and set forth the monstrous evils that the threatened legislation portended not only to the Church, but to the nation at large. They might have dwelt in particular on the religious side of the question, and boldly opposed to the errors of the Confession the full truths of Catholic teaching. Considering that the manifesto of the Reformers was laid before the Parliament on August 5, and that the debate was not opened until the 17th, there would seem to have been amply sufficient time not only to have studied the document, but to have prepared

an effectual rejoinder to it. Whatever may have been the motives that prompted the attitude of the bishops, its only apparent result was to excite the scorn of their opponents, and to increase the difficulties of their own position.

Considerable light is thrown on this question by two interesting documents printed by Keith from the archives of the Scotch College at Paris.¹ The first is a memorandum, in the writing of Archbishop Hamilton, from which it appears that the bishops had looked for the settlement of the religious question by a properly constituted Parliament, duly summoned by royal authority, and that they had taken steps to have instructions to that effect given to the royal commissioner who was to come from France for the opening of the Parliament. These anticipations, as we know, were frustrated by the assembly of the Estates in August 1560 without any authority from the Crown; and the bishops appear thereupon to have considered that no course was left to them except a dignified protest against the action of this body. It would seem, indeed, from the second document, which is a letter (dated August 18) from the Primate to the Archbishop of Glasgow, then in Paris, that the prelates hardly realised the true nature of the crisis. "I must make," the letter begins, "this little billet to your lordship, more that remembrance be not

The attitude of the Catholic clergy.

¹ *Affairs of Church and State*, pp. 485-488.

lost between us than for any matters of importance.”¹ “I neither can nor will think,” he goes on, “that our sovereign will let all this country be oppressed wrongously by subjects; but I will not judge till I see the uttermost.” The letter goes on to give an extraordinary picture of the bloodthirsty violence of the ministers of the new gospel. “All their new preachers,” he writes, “persuade openly the nobility in the pulpit to put violent hands, and slay all kirkmen that will not concur and take their opinion; and openly reproach my lord duke that he will not begin first, and either to cause me to do as they do, or else to use the rigour on me by slaughter, sword, or at the least, perpetual prison.”² And with time, if that be allowed, no man may have life without they grant their articles, which I will not.”³

¹ These words, it must be remembered, were written the very day after the adoption by Parliament of the Protestant Confession as the standard of faith for the realm. They could not have been penned had the Archbishop been really aware of the full force of that act. But they are perfectly intelligible (as is, indeed, the whole attitude of the bishops throughout the proceedings) on the supposition that they attached little or no weight to the acts of the so-called Parliament of 1560; and it is not necessary to adopt Mr Grub’s hypothesis (*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 85), that “their chief anxiety was for the restitution of their estates,” rather than for the maintenance of the Catholic religion in the country. It may be added that Bishop Leslie in his History does not apparently even think it worth while to mention the Confession at all.—TRANSLATOR.

² It was this passage which misled Keith into supposing that the duke had actually menaced his brother with death in the Parliament.—TRANSLATOR.

³ Eleven years later, the writer was to seal these bold words with his blood on the scaffold.—TRANSLATOR.

The work of the Reformation was not yet complete. The establishment of the new doctrines could not, in the eyes of the leaders of the Congregation, be suffered to coexist with toleration for those who adhered to the ancient faith. Further legislation was necessary in order to put the finishing stroke, as it was fondly hoped, to the Catholic Church of Scotland; and three more Acts were accordingly passed on the 24th of August. The first of these abolished for ever the jurisdiction of the Pope; the second repealed all former statutes in favour of the Catholic Church; the third, after setting forth that the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Body had been corrupted by the Church of Rome, and that notwithstanding the spread of the Reformation many still administered the sacraments in secret according to the rites of that Church, enacted that all who should either hear or say Mass in future should be punished for the first offence by confiscation of all their goods and "punishment of their bodies," for the second by banishment from the kingdom, and for the third by death.¹

It was by these means that the doctrines of the new religion were to be impressed on the hearts of the Scottish people. The very men who had most vehemently accused the Church of cruelty and intolerance, "now injured the cause they advocated by similar severities, and com-

Enactment
of penal
laws
against
Catholics.

¹ Knox, *Historie*, p. 151.

elled the reception of what they pronounced the truth, under the penalty of death."¹ It need hardly be said, however, that there is a wide distinction to be drawn between the action of the Church in this respect and that of her rebellious children. The former, as claiming to be the sole infallible interpreter of the Divine Revelation, was only consistent in doing her utmost to restrain and prohibit other interpretations than her own. If the crime of heresy in the middle ages was punished by death, the blame in the matter, if blame there be, is attributable not to the Church, but to the severity of the criminal laws of the State. For Protestantism, on the other hand, with its countless developments and forms of belief—which laid no claim to be an infallible teacher of men, but whose essential principle was the all-sufficiency of the Scriptures, which every man was free to interpret as he pleased,—for such a system as this to compel adherence to its tenets under pain of death, was not only unjust but absurd. The laws of the Church against heresy were enacted in defence of the rights and privileges which had been hers undisputed for centuries. Protestantism had, and could have, no rights or privileges to defend.

Co-operation
of the
English
agent.

The correspondence preserved in the State Paper Office shows that Randolph, the English

¹ Tytler, vol. iii. p. 130.

agent in Edinburgh, took a prominent part in the transactions of this momentous year. His sentiments towards the Catholic hierarchy may be gathered from a passage in one of his letters to Cecil at this time,¹ in which he speaks of the question of the ratification of the Treaty of Berwick, which was about to be brought before Parliament. “The Bishop of Dunblane,” he writes, “is also now come; it is not to reason upon religion, but to do, as I hear, whatsoever the Earl of Argyll will command him. If God have prepared him and his metropolitan to die obstinate Papists, yet I would wish that before they go to the devil they would show some token that once in their lives they loved their country, and set their hands to the contract, as hardly I believe they will.”

Nothing was now wanting to complete the work of destruction save the crowning act of confiscation of the property of the Church; and it was fitting that the Parliament of 1560 should sum up its lawless proceedings by a final violation of the treaty to which it owed its existence. In terms of one of the articles of that treaty, some of the prelates applied to Parliament for the restitution of their sequestered property. The matter was postponed until the last day of the assembly, and was then dismissed on the pretended ground that

Confiscation
of ecclesiastical property.

¹ *State Papers* (Scotl.), Eliz., vol. v., August 15; Randolph to Cecil. Quoted by Tytler, *History of Scotl.*, vol. iii. p. 130.

no one was present to support the petition. It was further expressly enacted that all leases, or feus of Church lands, granted subsequently to March 6, 1558, by the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, the Abbot of Crossraguel, the Priors of Whithorn and Pluscardine and others, were to be null and void. The Parliament was prorogued on the 24th of August.

Effect of
the Acts of
1560.

It is with a feeling of profound melancholy that we close our record of these eventful months. We have seen the Scottish Church, by the fiat of an unauthorised assembly, cut off from the centre of Catholic unity, the Pope forbidden to exercise his lawful spiritual jurisdiction over the faithful, and the ancient religion driven from the land where it had held possession for so many centuries. The thousands who still remained true to the faith of their fathers were deprived at one blow of the holy sacrifice of the Mass and of the sacraments which had been the channels of innumerable graces to their souls. Crushed down beneath a code of laws of the most merciless severity, and forbidden under the most stringent penalties to practise the duties enjoined on them by the Church, a dark night seemed, indeed, to have settled down on the Catholics of this unhappy country.

CHAPTER VI.

MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH
AT THE TIME OF ITS SUPPRESSION.

IT was, we know, the wealth of the Scottish Church which, by exciting the cupidity of the needy and unscrupulous barons, was the most powerful incentive to their zeal for the work of reformation consummated by the Parliament of 1560. It will therefore not be uninstructive to glance briefly at the material resources of the Church at this time, as we know them from the most authentic sources at our disposal.

The extent of the riches amassed in the course of centuries by the bishops, religious corporations, and other ecclesiastical bodies, has been a favourite theme with M'Crie¹ and other writers of the same stamp. Nor need it be denied that the wealth of the Church was at this period very considerable. The saying of Luther, “Under the Papacy giving had no end,” was certainly not less verified in Scotland than in other parts of Christendom ; and we

¹ *Life of Knox*, vol. i. pp. 15 seq., &c.

have seen how, century after century, the devout munificence of Scottish Catholics found its scope in the foundation and endowment of religious institutions throughout the country. Nevertheless, considerable as was the property of the Church, a brief examination will show that so far from being excessive, it was, in truth, very moderate, if compared with the vast number of those who claimed a share in it.

The total annual revenues of the Scottish Church have been estimated as follows:¹—

Income of 200 abbeys, monasteries, and convents,	£220,618 15 0
" archbishops, bishops, and cathedral chapters,	33,765 11 0
" collegiate churches,	5,350 0 0
" hospitals, &c.,	18,000 0 0
Income from tithes, dues, &c.,	50,000 0 0
Total,	<u>£327,734 6 0</u>

When we remember that the number of ecclesiastics in Scotland, including the religious orders of both sexes, amounted to at least three thousand, and that from the above sum had to be provided not only the maintenance and repair of ecclesiastical buildings, but also the support and relief of the poor and afflicted, it will be seen that the average incomes of the clergy must have been

¹ Calculated by Walsh (*History*, p. 332) according to the then value of money, chiefly from the statistics given by Keith (ed. Lawson, vol. iii. pp. 370-384).

very far from excessive. The denunciations hurled at the luxury and enormous wealth of the pre-Reformation Church thus lose their force; and they might with quite as much, if not more, propriety and justice be applied to the Scotch and English Establishments of our own time.

Be this as it may, the amount and value of the property of the Church was more than sufficient to offer a tempting bait to the greedy and impoverished nobles. We find them, accordingly, by an act of the most barefaced robbery, confiscating the ecclesiastical revenues in every direction, without, of course, the slightest intention of fulfilling the various obligations which had always been attached to their possession. It will be difficult for us to understand how such a scheme of wholesale pillage could be carried out, unless we bear in mind the somewhat exceptional position of the Scottish nobles—a position of independence and arbitrary power which was probably unequalled in any European country. The nobility of Scotland were represented in the middle ages by a few powerful families, who were closely united to one another both by ties of kindred and similarity of interests, and who, first as thanes, and then in Scoto-Norman times as earls and barons, ruled over their vassals and dependants with little less than absolute authority. Their connection with the Crown was comparatively slight and remote. In the midst of his

The no-
bility and
the Refor-
mation.

extensive domains the lord erected his castle, which, save in time of war, he seldom had occasion to quit ; for, whether from poverty or from choice, the Scottish monarchs were, as a rule, surrounded by little of the pomp or splendour of a Court. A relation of peculiar, almost patriarchal, intimacy thus grew up between the feudal nobility and their dependants, most of whom bore the same name as their chief, considered themselves as offshoots of the same stock, and were identified with the same interests in peace as in war.

It is obvious that such a system as this, deeply rooted as it was in the soil and the hearts of the people, while affording under favourable circumstances the strongest support to the owner, might on the other hand, in case of conflict, prove a standing menace to its authority. The tardy development of the Scottish towns, on whose assistance the monarch might have relied in contending with the growing power of the nobles, was an additional source of strength to the latter. Nor did the royal exchequer permit the employment on a large scale of mercenary troops. It thus came about in course of time that the Scottish kings were in reality almost completely dependent on the nobility ; and a great part of the internal history of the country is taken up with the continual and often ineffectual efforts of the monarch to maintain or to recover the rights of the Crown, as constantly threatened by the too power-

ful barons. Did the king show signs of making the weight of his hand felt by his unruly subjects, we find at once the formation of one of those powerful *bands* or leagues,¹ which cost more than one Scottish monarch his life. It was this body of men, practically independent and wholly unprincipled, who, encouraged by a knot of fanatical democrats, finally succeeded in overthrowing the Scottish Church, at a time when the supreme power was nominally in the hands of a mere girl, who had for years been absent from the country.

Under these circumstances we cannot be surprised if schools and churches disappeared or fell to ruins, if the poor and destitute were robbed of their just rights and left to starve in their miserable dwellings,² while the nobles fought among themselves for the lands and riches which are in many cases still the property of their descendants. “Were we to inquire minutely,” writes one who is far from biassed in favour of the old

Division of
the plunder
of the
Church.

¹ Matthew Paris (fol. ed. p. 430) mentions that it was from remote times the custom of the men of Galloway, before embarking on any dangerous enterprise, to pledge themselves, in blood drawn from their own veins, to stand by one another to the death. The same practice prevailed in Ireland. The Annals of Inisfallen record how in the year 1277 the son of Lord Clare and Bryan Roe O’Brien “became sworn gossips, and for confirmation of this bond of perpetual friendship, drew part of each other’s blood, which they mingled together in a vessel.” (See *Annals of Four Masters*, ed. Connellan, p. 90, note.) We have here, doubtless, the origin of those political and religious leagues, so common in Scottish history, of which the Covenant of 1560 was a notable example.—TRANSLATOR.

² Walsh, *Hist. of Cath. Church*, p. 333.

religion,¹ “into the history of this period, we would find that the plunder of the Church was well shared among the ancestors of our present nobility and others, and that worldly considerations induced them to forward the Protestant cause rather than a conviction of its truth.” Among the principal possessors of Church lands in this country may be enumerated the Dukes of Hamilton, Buccleuch, Argyll, Athole, Roxburghe, and Abercorn; the Marquesses of Lothian and Ailsa; the Earls of Morton, Buchan, Eglinton, Galloway, Elgin, and Wemyss, besides many of the inferior nobility.² It was the ancestors of these noble families who clutched with both hands at the rich plunder which the demolition of the Church placed within their grasp, and forgetting their pious professions in the struggle for wealth, left the ministers of the Reformed religion to starve or beg. Whatever may have been the advantages which they thus secured to themselves and their descendants, it will hardly be denied that the greedy and unprincipled nobles stand out in strong contrast, here as elsewhere in Scottish history, to the clergy of the fallen Church. Whatever their faults (and we have not disguised them in these pages), the ancient Scottish ecclesiastics were at least true patriots,

¹ Lawson, *The Rom. Cath. Church in Scotland*, p. 276.

² It should be noted, however, that in some of these cases the ecclesiastical property has been acquired by purchase, by marriage, or by collateral descent from the original owners.—TRANSLATOR.

and zealous to uphold the honour and independence of their country. The fact (of which we shall have abundant proof) that neither the blind fury of fanatic iconoclasts nor the destructive greed of the nobility was successful in uprooting the Catholic faith from Scottish soil, sufficiently attests how deep and tenacious a hold the Church of St Ninian, St Columba, and St Margaret had gained upon the hearts and affections of the Scottish people. Impartial writers have acknowledged that in her use of the wealth committed to her, the Church consulted not only the spiritual but also the best temporal interests of the inhabitants of the country. "We are not," observes Mr Lawson,¹ "to view the ecclesiastics of the Scottish hierarchy merely as the founders of cathedrals, colleges, and religious institutions. It cannot be denied that they rendered essential services, by their continued improvement of the kingdom, in agriculture; in the erection of bridges, hospitals for the aged and infirm, many of which still remain; and that they were, in many cases, the promoters of the comforts and luxuries of domestic life. They were the discoverers of that invaluable mineral, *coal*—a constant and never-failing source of internal wealth; they were long the only shipowners of the kingdom; and some of the most useful inventions issued from the monastic cloister."

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

Unjust treatment
of the
monks.

The publication of the ancient monastic records, and the critical examination of recent writers into the true principles and motives which underlay the work of the Reformation in Scotland, have testified not only to the beneficent influence exercised by the Catholic ecclesiastics on the people at large, but also to the gross injustice inflicted upon them by the suppression of the old religion. "The monks," remarks the learned editor of the *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, "had been long revered as the instructors and spiritual guides of the people, the benefactors of the poor, and the indulgent masters of numerous vassals and retainers. Their halls were the seats of hospitality, where princes and distinguished persons were entertained, and where minstrels and professors of the liberal arts were welcome guests."

. . . The unfortunate monks, often perhaps deeply wronged, were driven from their ancient seats; and their magnificent edifices, if the chance of war had not already desolated them, were either demolished by the blind rage of the populace or left to crumble into premature decay."¹ One of the latest and ablest defenders of the ill-fated Queen of Scots thus speaks of the action and motives of the reforming nobles of the sixteenth century: "It was not from spiritual zeal alone that they began to look with favour on the new faith. The plunder of the

¹ Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 10.

monasteries in England under Henry VIII. was a precedent which they might hope would one day be followed in the northern kingdom, where the possessions of the Church were, comparatively speaking, of immense extent and value.¹ . . . The division of nearly the whole of the Church lands among a body of men already too powerful was a necessary result of the Reformation ; and from the death of James V. until the union of the two Crowns, Scotland was oppressed by a nobility the most rapacious and corrupt that probably ever existed.”²

One more citation will convince us that the people had little reason to rejoice at the change of landlords effected by the abolition of the monastic orders. “On a fair estimate of the materials now collected,” writes Mr Cosmo Innes, “we shall find the monks, freed as they were from domestic ties, always zealous for their Order, and for the welfare of their territories and tenants as conducting to its prosperity ; encouraging agriculture and every improvement of the soil ; leading the way in an adventurous foreign trade, and in all arts and manufactures ; cultivating the learning of the time, and latterly enjoying and teaching to others the enjoyment of the luxuries of civilised life, while they exercised extensive hospitality and charity, and preserved a decorum which is

The monks
as land-
lords.

¹ Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*, vol. i. p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

akin to virtue. Posterity owes them a debt, were it but for bequeathing us those remains of their edifices, which are only more interesting from their decay, and for their simple and faithful chronicles. When we consider the extent of the possessions of a house like Melrose, the affluence, and the amount of power and influence it brought to bear on such objects as these, during ages of lawlessness and rapine; recollecting, too, the peculiar interest of its peaceful inhabitants in maintaining the quiet of the country and the security of property,—we cannot doubt that their administration of their great territory and revenue, notwithstanding all abuses incident to the system, was more for the happiness of the people than if the possessions of the abbey had fallen at an early period into the hands of some great temporal proprietor.”¹

Change
wrought
by the Re-
formation.

A sudden and awful change had indeed come upon the face of Scotland. The whole fabric of the Church had fallen, as it were, at one blow. The clergy of that Church, who but a year and a half before had assembled in solemn council in the metropolis of the kingdom, were now outlawed and proscribed, and prohibited from exercising the highest and holiest duties of their calling under pain of death. The faithful people who for centuries had found peace and consolation, living and dying, in the knowledge and

¹ *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, pp. 117, 118.

practice of the religion handed down to them by their fathers, were now deprived of the blessings of that religion, as it seemed for ever. We may well ask, How could such a change as this be wrought so suddenly and so completely? The circumstances of the time, and the events of the preceding twenty years, will supply us with the answer.

Since the death of James V., Scotland had ^{The causes of its success.} been practically without a ruler. The murder of Cardinal Beaton four years later had not only deprived the State of a wise and patriotic counsellor, but had taken from the Church a leader whom she could ill afford to lose, and whom there was no one to replace. No more favourable time could be conceived for the introduction of the principles and system of the Reformation into the country. Nor can it be denied that the rulers of the Church, although it would be unjust to charge them with having betrayed their sacred trust, were nevertheless partly responsible for the circumstances which had facilitated the ultimate triumph of the Protestant cause. They had at least tacitly sanctioned the iniquitous system by which some of the wealthiest benefices and most important ecclesiastical dignities were in the hands of laymen, who, when it suited their own interests, deliberately ranged themselves on the side of the Church's bitterest enemies, and threw themselves into the arms of

heresy. Not virtue nor learning, but kinship to some noble house, was too often considered the best qualification for high offices of the Church ;¹ nor, as we have seen, was the stain of illegitimate birth deemed any bar to ecclesiastical advancement. Even among the higher clergy, too many were more than suspected of leading lives the reverse of edifying ;² while the inferior ecclesiastics

¹ We have seen how this abuse was regarded by the learned and zealous Abbot of Crossraguel. Here is the testimony of a not less ardent defender of the ancient Church : “ Proceres immoderatam primum avorum suorum erga Deum liberalitatem incusare, mox ad peiores progressi opiniones, ecclesiarum redditus quovis specioso titulo invadere. Abbates et Episcopos liberos vix natos, et adhuc a matre rubentes, designare, et si quis ob animi corporis imbecillitatem secularibus curis minus aptus haberetur, is divino cultui nolens volens sacrabatur. Illi vero quibus vitia natalium certam paternæ hereditatis adeundæ spem præsciderant, in sortem filiorum Dei non adoptati, sed intrusi, de altari quibus vitam luxumque alerent rapiebant. Hæc nobiles. Vulgus autem natura pigrum et iners, nec coelestibus rebus idoneum, ut gravem aliis serendi et metendi necessitatem fugeret, nusquam securius quam in monasteriorum claustris asylum conspiciens, eo tanquam in montem sacrum secedebat. Quamprimum vero ex illa hominum fæce quispiam literarum levem aliquam notitiam sibi parasset, hujus aut illius e proceribus adjutus patrocinio, dignitates in ecclesia ambire, animarum regimen sibi deposcere et vicarias trossulis nostris delicatisque præsulibus operas præstare solitus, nil minus quam quid sacrosancti munerus esset, cogitabat ; sed ventrem replere, syrmata dilatare et sublimiora occupare subsellia. Quid enim aliud facerent quos nec Deo famulandi studium, nec virtutis amor, nec ulla honesti justive ratio ad coelestia ministeria obeunda vocarunt ? His omnibus accedebat libido impotens, sacratioris vitæ lues teterrima.”—Conæus, *De Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos* (Romæ, 1628), p. 69.

² Ninian Winzet, *Tractatis* (Keith, *Affairs*, Appendix, p. 205). “Zour godly Leving garnisit with Chastitie, Fasting, Prayer, and Sobrietie, . . . zour godly and circumspect Distributioun of Benefices to your Babeis, Ignorantis and filthy Anis, all *Ethnick, Turk,*

were lamentably deficient in that trained theological learning which alone could meet and overcome the dominant errors of the time.¹ Above all, it is impossible to doubt that the knowledge which the people at large possessed of the doctrines of their religion was insufficient to enable them to cope successfully with the coming storm. "There," says Bishop Leslie, speaking of the causes which led to the overthrow of the faith in Scotland—"there is the source and origin of the evil, that the people, neglected by the clergy, and uninstructed in the Catechism in their tender years, had no sure and certain belief."²

and *Jow may lauch at.*" These words, it is needless to say, are spoken in bitter irony.

¹ Hay, *Gratulatorius Panegyricus*, pp. 34, 38. "Pudet (ita me Deus amet) vulgarium atque adeo aliorum quorundam presbyterorum vitam recensere, ignorantie tenebris undique offuscata, ut non raro demirer quidnam Episcopis venerit in mentem cum tales admitterent ad sacrosanctum corpus Domini tractandum, qui vix norunt literarum seriem. Qui cum Ecclesiæ præfuerint multis annis, . . . nullam se literam Novi Testamenti attigisse gloriantur."

² Leslie, *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, p. 538. The whole passage is valuable, as the testimony of one well qualified to give an impartial opinion on the question. "Quæres fortasse, unde igitur tam feida Religionis facies, tam præceps Religionis conversio? non profecto quod viri Ecclesiæ principes fidem, officiumque suum prodiderint; sed quod hæresein scintillas, ea, qua par erat fortitudine docendo, scribendo, arguendo in ipso principio non extinxerint; quod multa simulando et dissimulando, persecutionis turbine acrius ingruente, infirmioribus, ac ipsi in primis nobilitati scandalum, ac offenditionem pepererint; denique (qui totius pene mali fons erat) quod populum ita neglexerint, ut nullo catechismo in ipsa tenella cœtate catholice imbutus quidquam haberet, quod crederet certi. Unde postquam opiniones Hæreticorum plenas licentiæ, ac verborum perpulchro vestitu audiverat plebs, quam nulla certa Ecclesiæ doctrina imbuerat, cito accurrit, has opiniones specie præclaras toto pectore, animoque

The canons of the last provincial councils of the Scottish Church had held out a fair promise of the speedy reform of the abuses which had grown up in the Scottish Church ; but, as we have seen, little time or opportunity was granted for their being carried into effect. The crisis was at hand ; and a mercenary nobility, animated at least as much by cupidity and self-interest as by religious zeal, consummated a work which even Protestant historians have characterised as one of revolution rather than of reformation.¹ It is therefore on them that the main responsibility must rest, and not on a hierarchy who had at least, by their latest official acts, shown themselves honestly desirous of ameliorating the evils which had too long prevailed unchecked.

Difficulty
in extirpat-
ing the
Catholic
religion.

It would be an error to suppose that with the Acts of Parliament of August 1560 the Catholic religion in Scotland, or the Catholic form of worship, at once came to an end. By those enactments were forged the weapons with which the strong arm of the law was slowly and surely to drive out the ancient faith. But as in other countries where the Reformation triumphed, it

haustura. Huc accessit quorundam Ecclesiasticorum vita, quæ cum avaritiæ ac voluptatis maculis aspersa videretur, sectariorum Ministris materiam copiosam suppeditavit, Ecclesiastice dignitatis apud populum lacerandæ, ut stulti homines nihil se firmius colligere posse arbitrarentur, quam dum vociferantur ad populum, in tantis vitiorum tenebris, quibus vita Ecclesiasticorum arguebatur, non potuisse inesse Evangelii lucem."

¹ Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 310.

was years before even the external manifestations of a system so deeply interwoven with the life of the people could finally be crushed out of the land ; and even then, many a pious belief and venerable Catholic custom continued to be handed down from generation to generation by popular tradition, long after the very source whence they were derived was utterly forgotten.

The enactment of the penal laws on August 23, 1560, forms a landmark in the history of the Catholic Church in Scotland. It closes the chapter which records her rise, her development, and her overthrow, and introduces us to a long and dismal period of obscurity and persecution, lasting down to the commencement of our own century. Before, however, bidding a final farewell to the medieval Church, we may be permitted to take a brief survey of her efforts in the cause of education, and the encouragement which she gave to art and learning in Scotland in pre-Reformation times.

End of the
medieval
period of
Scottish
Church
history.

CHAPTER VII.

EDUCATION AND ART IN SCOTLAND BEFORE THE
REFORMATION.

Efforts of
the Church
in the cause
of educa-
tion.

IN medieval Scotland, no less than in other countries which came under her influence, the advancement of knowledge and learning was the constant aim of the Catholic Church. Side by side with the improvement of the social condition of the people, she laboured unceasingly to extend to them the advantages of an education from which no class of the population should be excluded.

Medieval
schools.

“In almost all the periods of the history of Scotland,” remarks Burton,¹ “whatever documents deal with the social condition of the country reveal a machinery for education always abundant, when compared with any traces of art or the other elements of civilisation.” Although no accurate statistics have come down to us regarding the Scottish schools of the middle ages, we find in contemporary documents, especially in

¹ *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 107.

the cartularies of the principal monasteries, constant and copious reference to them. The school of Abernethy was renowned in very early times;¹ and we find that, as civilisation progressed and towns grew and developed, the conduct of their schools was usually intrusted to the religious orders. Thus, in 1173 Perth and Stirling possessed public schools, which were under the charge of the Benedictines of Dunfermline. The Cartulary of Kelso also mentions the school at Roxburgh, which was conducted by the monks of Kelso Abbey.²

Nearly every monastery of importance possessed Monastic schools. a school within its own walls. Primarily, perhaps, these institutions were founded with a view of fostering vocations to the religious state, but they were also taken advantage of for the training of youths destined for a career in the world. There was a school in connection with the priory of St Andrews, in which youths were instructed in the philosophy of Scotus.³ The sons of noble houses, more especially, seem usually to have received their education in these monastic schools. We find in the thirteenth century the widowed Lady of Molle resigning part of her dowry lands to the abbey of Kelso, on condition that the

¹ We find, as early as 1123, Berbeadh, "rector of the schools of Abernethy," witnessing the grant of Lochleven to the Culdees, by Alexander I. (*Regist. Prior. S. Andree*, p. 116).—TRANSLATOR.

² *Liber S. Mariae de Calchou*, vol. ii. p. 316.

³ Martine's *Reliquiae Divi Andree*, p. 187.

monks should maintain and educate her son among their scholars of highest rank.¹ The constitutions of the cathedral of Aberdeen, enacted in 1256, enjoin the chancellor to "provide a proper master for the government of the schools of Aberdeen, able to teach the boys both grammar and logic."² In the accounts of the Chamberlain of Scotland there appears a donation of twenty shillings, in the year 1329, from King Robert Bruce in support of the schools at Montrose; and the same monarch gave the sum of thirteen pounds six shillings to one Gilbert de Benachtyne, to aid him in the prosecution of his studies.³

Direction
of the
Celtic
schools.

In the Celtic Church, both of Scotland and Ireland, the supreme direction of the schools belonged to the *Ferleiginn*, or lecturer, just as it did to the chancellor in later times. The *Ferleiginn* had jurisdiction over the rector or master, who was himself superior to the *scolocs*, or ecclesiastical clerk. We know but little of the manner in which the early medieval schools were conducted, but the statutes of the grammar school of Aberdeen, in force about 1550, give a lively picture of the rules adopted in a classical

¹ *Liber de Calchou*, vol. i. p. 142. The phrase used is "exhibebunt in victualibus," whence the modern term *exhibition*, in the sense of an annual sustentation-fund for the support of a scholar.—TRANSLATOR.

² *Reg. Episc. Aberdon.*, vol. i. p. 45.

³ *Compt. Camerarii Scotiæ*, pp. 95, 96.

school three centuries ago.¹ Above all, they testify to the thoroughly Christian spirit which pervaded the schools of pre-Reformation Scotland.² A learned Scottish writer thus speaks of the work done by these institutions, in spite of the drawbacks under which they laboured : “ The chief difficulty in any attempts at popular education must have arisen from the scarcity of books. But after all, that was not greater on the eve of the grand invention of printing than it had been in all ages of the world before. It did not press more heavily upon the Scotchman of the fourteenth century than it did on the Italian contemporaries of Petrarch and Boccaccio, than it had done upon the people who appreciated the verse of Sophocles and the rhetoric of Demosthenes and the philosophy of Plato. How this impediment to instruction was overcome is for us difficult to understand. That it was overcome we know.”³

The old Scottish monks not only provided for the needs of their own generation by the instruction and education of youth within the walls of their cloisters, but they also conferred a benefit

Registers
kept in
monas-
teries.

¹ One rule orders the scholars to speak in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, or Irish—never in the vernacular!—TRANSLATOR.

² *Spalding Miscellany*, vol. v. pp. 399-402. “ In primis, puer ingressus scholas prosternat se humi, genibus flexis salutet Christum, optimum, maximum, humani generis auctorem, et Deiparam Virginem brevi precatiunculo, hoc modo : Gratias tibi pater cœlestis ago, quod præteritam noctem mihi volueris esse prosperam, precorque ut diem itidem hunc mihi bene fortunes,” &c.

³ Cosmo Innes, *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, p. 256.

upon posterity by the preservation of valuable documents and the careful compilation of their monastic annals. Three kinds of register-books appear to have been kept in every Scottish monastery. The first was the *chronicle*, or general register, in which were entered year by year the various events of interest and importance that occurred. A few specimens of these annals, compiled previous to the fatal year 1291, in which Edward I. of England seized and carried off the historical records of Scotland, have been preserved to us. Among them are the ancient Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, the Chronicles of Holy Cross and of Melrose, the Book of Paisley, and a fragment of the Chronicle of Holyrood. The second species of register was the *obit-book*, in which were recorded the death and burial of the successive abbots and priors of the monastery, and its principal benefactors ; while the third, and perhaps the most important, was the *chartulary*, which contained the charters granted by the kings and great nobles to the monastery, and the bulls received from the Popes. In the chartulary were further recorded the leases given by the monks to their vassals and tenants, the revenues of the monastic lands, the taxes which they paid to the Crown, and other interesting details.¹ Every monastery, of course, possessed its own library. The Register of the diocese of

¹ Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 292.

Glasgow contains a catalogue of the books in the library of Glasgow Cathedral, some thirty years before the invention of printing.¹ A list is also extant of the books belonging to the monastery of St Serf at Lochleven in the year 1150, the date of its coming into the possession of the canons-regular of St Andrews.²

While the primary instruction of the people was provided for in the schools which were found

Scottish universities.

in nearly every town and monastery, the higher educational needs of the country were amply supplied by the three universities, founded by the most zealous and enlightened prelates of the Scottish Church. These three seats of learning were all, as we have seen, established in the course of the fifteenth century.³ Previous to their foundation, and also subsequently, although to less extent, the more aspiring Scottish youth resorted in considerable numbers to the Continental universities. We find that of Paris especially, as well from the European reputation of its schools as from the close political connection which for centuries existed between Scotland and France, frequented by a large number of Scottish students. Nor were they wanting at other seats of learning on the Continent. The registers of the University of Cologne indicate that, of the

Scotchmen
at the Con-
tinental
univer-
ties.

¹ *Reg. Episc. Glasg.*, vol. ii. p. 334.

² *Reg. Episc. St Andr.*, pp. 44, 45 (Spottiswood, *History*, vol. i. p. 69).

³ St Andrews in 1410, Glasgow in 1451, Aberdeen in 1495.

foreigners who studied there in the fifteenth century, the largest proportion were Scotchmen, and of these the majority belonged to the diocese of St Andrews.¹

Eminent
Scottish
scholars.

Marianus
Scotus.

That medieval Scotland did not fall behind other countries of Christendom in zeal for learning, is sufficiently evidenced by the number of her sons who in every century distinguished themselves in the various branches of sacred and profane science. If we suppose with Skene that after the tenth century the name of Scotia began to be transferred from Ireland to what we now call Scotland, we may not improbably claim as a son of Scottish soil *Marianus Scotus*, the celebrated chronicler, who was born in 1028, and having left his native country about 1056, became a monk at Cologne and afterwards at Fulda.² He died at Mainz in 1086. Besides his Chronicle,

¹ The following names, among others, appear in the matriculation lists of Cologne University, 1421 : Walter Stewart (St Andrews); Patrick de Symmonton (Galloway). 1422 : David de Seton (Aberdeen). 1430 : David Alexander Ogilvie; James Inglis, canon of Glasgow. 1431 : William de Kinghorn; Andrew — (St Andrews); William Ker (St Andrews). Fr. Joseph Harzheim, S.J., on p. 403 of his *Bibliotheca Coloniensis* (Cologne, 1747), mentions among the professors of Cologne University, "Thomas Liel de Scotia, artium magister et s. theologiae licentiatuſ. Anno 1502, 20 Decembris apud Augustinianos eligitur Rector Magnificus in universitate Coloniensi a quatuor intrantibus usque ad 28 Junii 1503, de quo Montfaucon in bibliotheca manuscriptorum fol. 35 in bibliotheca Reginæ Sueciae ex Vaticana No. 999 ait extare : Collectio synodalis facta ad Clerum Colonensem 1479 per Thomam Liel de Scotia artium magistrum et s. theologiae licentiatum."

² It must be remembered, however, that the name of Scotia was

which is of special value as illustrating the obscure period in which he lived, we owe to Marianus the preservation of the *Notitia utriusque Imperii* of the Emperor Theodosius, which affords us an insight into the political subdivisions of the Roman empire. Another Scottish scholar of renown was *David Scotus*, a professor in the Scotch monastery of Würzburg in the twelfth century, and historiographer to the Emperor Henry V. Among his works were the "Iter Imperatoris," "De Regno Scotorum," and "Apologia ad Cæsarem." In the same century flourished *Adam Scotus*, who came to the Continent and entered the Premonstratensian Order, founded in 1124 by St Norbert of Santen. Adam, who died in a French monastery of the Order, wrote a treatise on the Rule of St Augustine, a tract on the triple tabernacle of Moses, and other mystic and contemplative works.¹

*David
Scotus.*

A still more distinguished son of Scottish soil was *Richard of St Victor*, <sup>Richard of
St Victor.</sup> who was born in the reign of David I. His reputation for learning, not exclusively applied to Scotland until the thirteenth century; and the weight of evidence certainly points to the conclusion that Marianus was an Irishman (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 398. Burton, *The Scot Abroad*, vol. i. p. 10. *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 583. *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1864, p. 177). The celebrated chronicler must not be confounded with another Scottish monk of the same name, who founded the monastery of St James at Ratisbon, and died in the odour of sanctity, probably in 1088. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.*, Febr., tom. ii. p. 363) have clearly proved that they were distinct persons, although contemporaries.—TRANSLATOR.

¹ Dupin, *Ecclesiastical Writers*, vol. ix.

especially in the branches of Sacred Scripture and mathematical science, was already great in his native country when he entered the famous monastery of St Victor, at Paris. The depth and beauty of his mystic writings is well known.¹

Bishop Godrich.

Godrich, who was Bishop of St Andrews early in the twelfth century (he died in 1108), was also an author of some note. Among his works were *Meditations on the Psalter*, and “*Hymni de Sanctis*.² One of the most distinguished Scottish *alumni* of the University of Paris at this period was *John a Sacro Bosco*. He was a native of Nithsdale, and a canon-regular of the monastery of Holywood. He afterwards went to Paris, where he became professor of mathematics. He wrote “*De Sphæra mundi*” and “*De Computo Ecclesiastico*,” which were highly spoken of by Melanchthon three centuries later.³ *Hugo Benham*, who was Bishop of Aberdeen in 1272, was renowned for his knowledge of canon law. He remodelled the statutes of his cathedral, and procured their confirmation by the Pope. Bishop Benham assisted at the General Council at Lyons in 1274. In musical science, we meet with the

John of Holywood.

Bishop Benham.

¹ The following was the epitaph of Richard of St Victor :—

“ Moribus ingenio doctrina clarus et arte,
Pulvereo hic tegeris, docte Richarde, situ.
Quem tellus genuit felici Scotica partu,
Te foveat in gremio Gallica terra suo.”

² Mackenzie, *Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. i. p. 160.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

name of *Simon Taylor*, a Scottish Dominican, who, after studying at Paris, returned to his native land, where we are told that he worked such a reformation in ecclesiastical music, that the Church music of Scotland was admitted to rival that of Rome itself.¹ Taylor, who flourished about 1230, wrote “*De cantu ecclesiastico corrugendo*,” “*De tenore musicali*,” and other treatises on music. A notable Scottish scholar of the thirteenth century was *Michael Scott* of Balwirie, who studied at Paris, Oxford, and in Spain, and was in high favour at the Court of Frederick II. He was the author of various treatises on astronomy, astrology, and mathematics, his great work, however, being the translation of the writings of Aristotle from the Arabic, Greek being at that time generally an unknown language. His “*Opera Aristotelis cum notis*” was published at Venice in 1496.²

A name of European celebrity in the thirteenth century, both as a theologian and a philosopher, was that of John *Duns Scotus*, who was born, according to the most credible authority, at Duns, in Berwickshire, about the year 1270.³

¹ George Newton, *Lives of the Bishops of Dunblane*. Quoted by Dempster, *Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot.*, lib. xviii.

² Mackenzie, *Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. i. p. 214.

³ English and Irish writers have both claimed Duns as their countryman. Early Continental writers, however, seem never to have doubted his Scottish origin. “*Dit Scot*,” says Moreri of him, “parce qu'il était natif d'Ecosse.” And Rabelais ironically remarks, “*Celle est l'opinion de Maistre Jehan d'Ecosse.*” Down in Ireland,

He early entered the Franciscan Order, and studied first at Merton College, Oxford, and afterwards at Paris. In his Commentary on the Sentences, which was known under the titles of "Opus Oxoniense" and "Reportata Parisiensia," Duns Scotus reduced to a system the views held by the Franciscan school, in theological and philosophical questions, as against Thomas Aquinas and the Dominicans. The independence of reason and revelation, the reconciliation of free-will and predestination, and in particular, the great doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, were treated by Duns Scotus with a dialectical ingenuity that gained for him the title of *Doctor Subtilis*. Subtlety, indeed, is his preponderating characteristic; and he is generally considered to have shone more by his masterly confutation of opposing views than by the harmonious construction of his own system. He was sent to Cologne to assist in founding the university there; but he died very shortly afterwards (in 1308), and was buried in the Franciscan church in that city.¹

William
Dempster.

Contemporary with Duns Scotus was *William Dempster*, professor of philosophy at Paris. So high was his reputation both with Parliament

and Dunstane in Northumberland, have both been assigned as his birthplace.—TRANSLATOR.

¹ Stöckl, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*, p. 469. The following is the inscription on the tomb of Duns Scotus:—

"Scotia me genuit, Anglia suscepit,
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet."

and university, that he was commissioned to examine officially the writings of Raymond Lullius, whose fanciful theory of reforming all science by a mechanical combination of concepts, had attracted at that time an extraordinary number of partisans.¹ Dempster set forth the result of his inquiry in a work entitled "Examen in brevem Raimundi Lulli artem," which was printed at Lyons in 1514. Another Scotchman, *John Bassoll*, was the favourite pupil of Duns Scotus, and, like his master, a member of the Franciscan Order. He followed Duns to Paris, where he became professor of philosophy. He afterwards studied theology and medicine at Rheims, and died at Mechlin in 1347. Bassoll wrote a Commentary on the Sentences, and also a collection of treatises on philosophical and medical subjects.

John Bassoll.

He was known as *Doctor ordinatissimus*.² *John Blair, O.S.B.* (or *Arnold*) Blair, born in Fife in the reign of Alexander III., received his early education at Dundee together with William Wallace, and later went to Paris, where he studied philosophy and entered the Benedictine Order. On his return to Scotland, he lived for many years in the abbey of Dunfermline, whence he was called in 1297 to be chaplain to Sir William Wallace, then governor of Scotland. Blair wrote the life of his former fellow-pupil and patron during his residence at

¹ See Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 459.

² Mackenzie, *Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. i. p. 243.

Dunfermline, whither he returned after Wallace's execution.¹

Scottish historians.

Fordun.

A serious drawback to our accurate knowledge of medieval Scotland is caused by the absence for a period of nearly five hundred years of contemporary native historians. From the time of Adamnan, the biographer of St Columba in the eighth century, until the middle of the thirteenth, we are almost exclusively dependent on English annalists for information on the events of Scottish history. *John Fordun* was the first who set himself seriously to the work of compiling the annals of his native country. The Preface to the copy of Fordun's Chronicle which belonged to the abbey of Cupar,² a manuscript of the beginning of the fifteenth century, has some valuable notes on the life of the historian. It relates that Edward I.³ had carried off to England most of the ancient and authentic Scottish chronicles, committing the remainder to the flames. "After the loss of these annals," the writer goes on,⁴

¹ Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, pp. 105, 123, 124. Blair's work is entitled "Relationes Quædam: Arnoldi Blair Monachi de Dunfermelen et Capellani D. Willielmi Wallace Militis." It was written about 1327 (*Cottonian MSS.*, Brit. Mus.)—TRANSLATOR.

² Entitled *Liber Monasterii beatae Mariæ de Cupro*. The MS. is now in the Advocates' Library. *Register of Cupar Abbey*, p. lv.

³ The MS., by a clerical error, has Edward III.—TRANSLATOR.

⁴ The text of this Preface is printed by Skene (*Fordun's Chronicle*, Append. I. to Preface); and the portion from which the above is translated is also given by Fr. Innes (*Critical Essay*, pp. 125, 126). The Latin is so barbarous as to be in places unintelligible.—TRANSLATOR.

“a certain venerable Scottish priest arose, John Fordun by name, and set his hand boldly to the work, incited by zeal for his country; nor did he cease from his undertaking until with great pains and labour, having travelled through England and the neighbouring provinces, he had collected enough of what was best to compose five volumes of his *Scotichronicon*, on the delectable deeds of the Scots. His industry is indeed worthy of praise, in that he committed all these writings to memory, a feat divine rather than human. And so, on foot, making his way like a busy bee through Britain and Ireland, through cities and towns, churches and monasteries, among historians and chroniclers, handling their books of annals, wisely conferring and disputing with them, and entering upon his tablets whatever he thought best, by means of this tedious investigation he discovered many things which he knew not, and collected them together in his volume, as it were sweet honeycombs into a hive; composing in all, as I have before said, five elegant books, setting forth our history down to the death of the most holy King David, son of Saint Margaret.” Fordun’s history was continued to the middle of the fifteenth century by *Walter Bower* Bower. (or Bowmaker), the learned Abbot of Inchcolm. Bower’s continuation possesses a special value in the fact that the compiler himself was contemporary with many of the events which he relates.¹

¹ See Burton, *History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 124.

About the middle of the fourteenth century, Wyntoun. Andrew Wyntoun, Prior of St Serf's monastery on Lochleven, wrote his celebrated metrical chronicle, purporting to commence from the beginning of the world, or even earlier,¹ but of which the greater part is devoted to the history of his own country. The style of diction and easy flow of Wyntoun's verse are not excelled even by Barbour himself, although in poetical genius he is, of course, far inferior to that writer. His work has been not inaptly compared to the ancient castles or picturesque monasteries of the age in which he lived. "What spectator of taste," asks Tytler, "has not often preferred the ancient castle with all its romantic disproportions, to the symmetrical beauty of the modern edifice? And where is the student who is an enthusiast in the history and antiquities of his country, who would not rather read the quaint and homely descriptions of the Prior of Lochleven than the pages of modern writers, where vigour, freshness, and originality are so often sacrificed to insipid elegance?" It is perhaps needless to observe that not all the events recorded by Wyntoun, or his predecessor Fordun, as historic facts, can be received as such by the modern student. "In

Fabulous
history of
of Scot-
land.

¹ Wyntoun tells us himself that the reason of his work being entitled the "*Orygynale Cronykil*" is not because it was his own composition, but because it begins at the beginning—*i.e.*, from the creation of the angels (Bk. I. Prol. i. verses 95-100).—TRANSLATOR.

these writers," as Mr Burton points out,¹ "we have the earliest detailed narrative of that fabulous history which has had so great an influence on Scottish political literature, and even on political events. It owed its most egregious development to Hector Boece, who added to the history of Scotland many wonders." The same narrative was substantially repeated by the classic pen of George Buchanan, and in the less polished Latinity of the good Bishop of Ross. "There was hot controversy between Scotchmen then, and long afterwards; but each party, however fierce in abuse of the other, stood up for the ancient dignity of the native land common to both."²

Hector Boece, if not superior to his age as a historian, was nevertheless a man of learning and scholarship. He studied for some years at Paris, where he formed a close friendship with Erasmus, and was for a time professor of philosophy at the college of Montaigne. In the year 1500, Bishop Elphinstone induced him to return to Scotland, and to become the first principal of his newly founded university at Aberdeen.³ Boece published his Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen in 1522, and his History of the Scots in 1527. *Arthur Boece*, the younger brother of Boece, was also,

¹ *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 124, 125.

² *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³ The salary assigned to this office was forty merks a-year, equal to between twenty and thirty pounds a-year of our present money. See Cosmo Innes, *Sketches*, p. 270, note.—TRANSLATOR.

John Bellenden.

as Hector himself testifies,¹ a distinguished scholar, and a man of remarkable eloquence. *John Bellenden*, Archdeacon of Moray, who was born in 1485, translated Boece's History from the Latin. He was also the author of a translation of Livy.² Another well-known Scottish scholar at this time was *John Major*, who was professor in the University of Paris before he became Principal of St Andrews. He also published a History of Scotland, besides a Commentary on the Sentences and an Exposition of St Matthew's Gospel. We

John Major.

have already spoken of *Gavin Douglas*, the learned and exemplary Bishop of Dunkeld. Besides his poems, which have been highly lauded by Sir Walter Scott, Bishop Douglas executed a translation of Virgil, and a historical work which his death prevented him from completing.

Florence Wilson.

Florence Wilson was born near Elgin in 1500, and educated at Aberdeen University. He afterwards went to Paris, where he was tutor to a nephew of Cardinal Wolsey. Wilson accompanied Jean du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, on an embassy from Francis I. to Rome in 1534. He was, however, detained at Avignon by sickness, and on his recovery proceeded to Carpentras,

¹ *Aberdon. Episc. Vit.*, p. 62. "Arthurus Boetius, mihi germanus, in pontificio jure doctor, in civico (ut dicunt) licentiatus, vir miræ doctrinæ, plus literarum indies consecuturus, quod studium ei permanet, animo indefesso, nobiscum iura pie et scite profitetur. Est in eo vis et gravitas eloquendi, a vulgari genere plurimum abhorrens."

² Irving, *Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. i. pp. 12 seq.

where he was appointed rector of the Latin school at the instance of the celebrated Cardinal Sadolet. Wilson published in 1543 his " Dialogues on Tranquillity of Mind," and died three years later at Vienne, in the Dauphinée.¹

We find Scottish scholars of the sixteenth century in other countries of Europe besides France. Scottish scholars abroad. *John Fraser*, a learned Franciscan, resided in Naples. He was born in 1480, and after studying at Paris, entered the Franciscan Order in Italy. He published at Naples, in 1531, a treatise, famous in its day, on the question of Henry VIII.'s divorce. It was entitled "Quæstio de matrimonio Reginæ Angliæ." Another Scottish Franciscan acquired considerable fame in Germany. This was *Nicholas Hepburn*, a cadet of Nicholas Hepburn. the ancient family on which James IV. conferred the ill-omened title of Bothwell. Nicholas was born in 1488, and after a course of philosophy in his native country, went to study theology in Germany, where he entered the Franciscan Order; and having been ordained priest in 1526, held for many years the office of guardian of the Franciscan convent at Brühl, near Cologne. His reputation was great not only as a preacher and a theologian, but also as an untiring and successful defender of Catholic truth against the Lutheran heresy.² We may mention one more distin-

¹ Irving, *Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. i. pp. 23-34.

² Among Hepburn's works were: *Enarrationes Evangeliorum*

James Tayre, S.J.

guished Scot, although belonging to a rather later generation. This was *James Tayre*, who was born in the north of Scotland in 1543, and at the age of twenty entered the Society of Jesus. In 1568 he was instrumental in reconciling to the Catholic religion his brother, who had embraced Protestantism. The arguments in favour of the ancient faith set forth by the young Jesuit in his letter to his brother were such as to convert a number of other Protestants, and to draw forth a rejoinder from the arch-Reformer John Knox. Tayre afterwards became assistant, for France and Germany, to Aquaviva, the General of the Society, and he died in Rome, on March 20, 1579. He left behind him a Commentary on Aristotle, in manuscript.¹

Scottish poets.

The preceding category (which does not pretend to be exhaustive) will at least show that in the great revival of letters which immediately

Quadrag. ; Conciones in Evangelia Quadrages. ; Apologia pro Concilio Constant. ; Enarratio Lamentatoria in Psalm lxxviii. ; Enchirid. Locor. commun. ; De tribus votis ; Monas Sacrosanct. evangeliceae doctrinæ contra Franc. Lambertum apostatam ; Methodus concionandi, &c. (Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 136).

¹ An extract from the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus (furnished by the courtesy of Fr. Forbes-Leith, S.J.) contains some further details of the life of Fr. Tayre; amongst others, that on first entering the Society, he became so immersed in literary pursuits that his spiritual progress seemed to be imperilled. St Ignatius is related to have appeared to him in a vision, and to have warned him of the danger which he was incurring, with such good effect that he had no further difficulties of the kind (*Necrologium provinc. Scot.*, *excerpta ex Archiv. S.J. Romæ*).—TRANSLATOR.

preceded the religious revolution of the sixteenth century, Catholic Scotland had no cause to be ashamed of her sons. Nor was she deficient in representatives of the poetic art as well as of mere solid learning. We have already mentioned the gifts and genius of Bishop Douglas; and *Dunbar*, a native of Lothian, and a priest of the diocese of St Andrews, was also held in the highest esteem as a poet. He died about 1520. “The genius of Dunbar and Gavin Douglas,” says Sir Walter Scott, “is sufficient to illuminate whole centuries of ignorance.” We cannot, finally, pass without mention the name of Sir David Lindsay, a poet and dramatist of undoubted talent, which he unfortunately prostituted by holding up the Church and her ministers to the mockery and ridicule of an ignorant populace.

Gavin
Douglas
and Dun-
bar.

An interesting testimony to the zeal of the Scottish Church in the fifteenth century for the advancement of learning is afforded by an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1496 at the instance of the clergy. This statute provided that all barons and freeholders should, under a penalty of twenty pounds, send their sons at the age of eight or nine years to the schools, to remain there until they had acquired a competent knowledge of Latin. They were then to attend the schools of art and law, in order to qualify themselves as sheriffs and judges to administer the laws of the realm, so that thereby the poor people would no

Compul-
sory educa-
tion in
Scotland.

longer be obliged, in every trifling matter, to seek redress from the king's chief council.¹

The Church
and educa-
tion.

The ablest and most impartial writers of our own time have not failed to do justice to the influence exercised by the Church in promoting the education of the people. "It may with truth be said," observes Mr Burton,² "that in the history of human things there is to be found no grander conception than that of the Church of the fifteenth century, when it resolved, in the shape of the universities, to cast the light of knowledge abroad over the Christian world." Cosmo Innes allows that the universities are the legitimate children of the Catholic Church. "Much," remarks Lawson, in his essay on the state of Catholicism in Scotland, "has been said and written respecting the ignorance which prevailed in Scotland before the Reformation. . . . It must be remembered that much of what the ancient ecclesiastics are accused, rests on the sole testimony of their enemies, who embraced every opportunity of ridiculing and calumniating their fallen adversaries. The covetousness, moreover, of those who expected to share in the contemplated plunder of the Church, induced them to listen to the many false and disgraceful stories propagated in times which did not afford easy opportunities for investigating the truth of the allegations."³

¹ *Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. ii. p. 238. ² *Hist. of Scotl.*, vol. iv. p. 109.

³ *The Rom. Cath. Church in Scotland*, pp. 10, 11.

The fostering care of the Catholic religion not only promoted the advancement of learning and culture in general, but likewise the development of the fine arts, from their first rude beginnings in the earliest period of the history of our country. Art at that period was essentially, if not exclusively, connected with religion, and with the objects or the structures used in religious worship. A study of the style and character of the edifices which were devoted at different epochs to the divine service, throws an interesting side-light on the ecclesiastical history of our country ; and it will be instructive to inquire in some detail as to the form and construction of the churches and other religious buildings which were raised by the pioneers of Christianity in Scotland, and which were replaced in later ages by those noble sanctuaries, whose very ruins still inspire wonder and admiration.¹

We have seen, in an earlier portion of this history,² how close and intimate was the connection which existed between the Celtic Churches of Scotland and Ireland. It is, in fact, necessary, if we desire to have a clear idea of the character of the most ancient religious structures of our own country, to turn to the still earlier churches and monasteries of Ireland, whose remains are yet found in such abundance in that island. We find

Art in
medieval
Scotland.

Religious
edifices of
the Celtic
period.

¹ See Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Archäologie*, pp. 34 seq.

² See *ante*, vol. i. chap. ii.

that these buildings were at first invariably erected within fortified enclosures, belonging to some chief who professed the Christian faith, and whose privilege it was to become the patron and protector of the Christian missionary. We learn from the life of St Patrick that he built the church of Donaghpatrick on the spot already occupied by the dwelling of Conall, a brother of the king. In like manner, the church of Cill Benen was erected within the fortress of Dun Lughaid, whose possessors, including the father of the family and his four sons, had all received baptism.¹ Originally, of course, churches were constructed in this manner in order to ensure their security and that of their ministers; but the method of construction continued when the necessity for it had passed away. Thus the buildings of the ancient Irish monasteries were invariably surrounded by a species of fortification, consisting either of a *rath*, made of earth or palisade work, or a *cashel*, built of stones; and this *rath* or *cashel* continued as late as the twelfth century to form one of their most distinctive features.² Copious remains, as we have said, of these primitive monasteries are still to be seen in various parts of Ireland. Taking Mr Anderson for our guide, we will briefly describe one of the most interesting.

St Michael's Rock. On the island known as St Michael's Rock,

¹ Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 1st series, p. 77.

² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

about twelve miles from the coast of Kerry, perched upon a precipitous cliff, which runs sheer from the sea some eight hundred feet, may be seen the remains of a Celtic church and monastery. The cells are of beehive shape, and built without mortar. The largest measures fifteen feet in length by twelve in breadth; the walls are fully six feet and a half thick, and rise vertically to the height of seven feet, when the vaulting begins, ending at the height of sixteen feet or so in a round opening, which might be closed by a single stone. The entrance is three feet ten inches high, and two and a half feet wide. Over it there is a small opening, above which again a cross of white quartz-stone is built into the wall. Besides these cells, there are still to be seen within the enclosure two buildings of totally different form. They are not of circular shape, like the cells, but rectangular; the doorway is on the western side, while on the east there is a window-opening, below which may still be discerned the remains of an altar-platform. Two spots, surrounded by circular stone walls, still within the general enclosure, mark the burying-places of the monks.¹

With some slight modifications, the peculiarities of construction which we have noted are found repeated in the remains of buildings on the island of Innismurry, and also on St Senach's Isle, off the coast of Kerry. The special features of these

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

Characteristic of Irish monastic architecture.

ancient Irish monastic structures have been clearly and concisely described by Anderson, in his learned work on Early Christian Scotland. "They exist," he says, "as composite groups comprising one or more churches, placed in association with monastic dwellings, which consist of dry-built cells of beehive shape, the whole settlement being enclosed within a *cashel*, or rampart of uncemented stones. (2.) The churches found in this association are invariably of small size and rude construction. (3.) Whether they are lime-built with perpendicular walls, or dry-built and roofed like the dwellings, by bringing the walls gradually together, they are always rectangular on the ground-plan, and single chambered. (4.) They have usually a west doorway, and always an east window over the altar."¹

Remains of Celtic monasteries in Scotland.

Skye.

Garveloch.

We shall find in Scotland, just as in Ireland, although in a much less perfect state of preservation, the remains of the earliest religious edifices on those small islands which, from the facilities which they offered for a life of retirement and recollection, had a special attraction for the Celtic monks. Among them we may mention the cells on an island in Loch Columcille, in Skye, and those on one of the Garveloch islands, lying between Scarba and Mull. A well on the latter island still bears the name of Tobar Cholum-na-chille, or Columba's well. A third cluster of cells

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 93.

was erected on the Brough of Deerness, in Orkney, ^{Deerness.} on one of those diminutive islets which lie a little way off the rugged and precipitous cliffs of Deerness. An example of the cells or oratories of a slightly later type, as evidenced by the radiating vault of the roof, the squared stones, and the lime used in the construction, is afforded by the little chapel on the isle of Inchcolm, in the Firth ^{Inchcolm.} of Forth. This building, which measures sixteen feet in length, the walls being three feet thick, was in all probability the oratory of the hermit mentioned by Bower in his continuation of the *Scotichronicon* of Fordun. Bower relates that King Alexander I., when wrecked on one occasion on this island, received hospitality from a hermit living there, who followed the rule of St Columba, and whose only means of support was milk and fish. Bower himself was, in the fifteenth century, abbot of the monastery erected by Alexander at Inchcolm, in fulfilment of a vow made on the occasion of his shipwreck.¹

From the primitive type of building which we have described, was developed in course of time a somewhat more elaborate style of construction. To the single chamber of which the churches at first consisted, there was now added a chancel to the east. This was either connected with the original church by a rounded arch, or else simply built on to it as a separate structure, a small

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. v. c. 37. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 286

doorway uniting the two buildings. It is worthy of note, as Anderson has pointed out, that whereas “the Roman type, which subsequently became European, was basilican in form, having its east end constructed in a rounded apse, here, on the other hand, the earlier churches are not basilican in form, but are invariably small oblong rectangular buildings, with square ends and high-pitched roofs of stone. No example of an apsidal termination exists among them; and whatever may be the secret of their derivation, they are certainly not built after what was known as the Roman manner. Their special features, as has been shown, are the extreme rudeness of their construction, the extreme simplicity of their form, the insignificance of their dimensions, and the total absence of any attempt at ornament or refinement of detail.”¹ A small tower was usually added to the chancel. A peculiar example of an early Celtic tower is found in the parish church of Egilsay,² in Orkney, which, besides the eastern chancel, has a round tower at the western end. The whole building is of very irregular construction, some of the stones being as much as four feet long. The tower is seven feet in internal diameter, and the walls at its base some three and a half feet thick.³

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 128.

² According to Prof. Mönch, a corruption of *Ecclesia*—the church—contemporary, it has been thought, with St Magnus himself. See *Scottish Review* (Jan. 1887).—TRANSLATOR.

³ Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-41.

Besides the tower just mentioned, which is in connection with the main building of the church, two other and more celebrated towers still exist in Scotland, which, like the campaniles of Italy, are altogether detached from any neighbouring structure. The famous round tower of Brechin, which rises on the south-west of the cathedral, is constructed of large unequal blocks of reddish-grey sandstone. The masonry is excellent, the stones shaped to the circular form of the tower, but not laid in regular courses. Some of those near the base are as much as five feet long. The height, from the base to the octagonal-pointed summit, is eighty-six feet nine inches. The building tapers gradually upwards, and the interior is divided into seven sections. The entrance of the tower deserves particular mention. It is on the western side, and is in the form of a semicircular arch, which is surmounted by a figure of the Crucifixion. Each side of the arch is ornamented by a small statue, one carrying a pastoral staff of the ancient Celtic walking-stick shape, and the other bearing a cross-headed or so-called *Tau-staff*, and also a book. The arch is further adorned by a row of pellets running round it, between two narrow fillets.¹

The only other round tower in Scotland is that at Abernethy, in Perthshire. Like the tower of Brechin, it rises close to the ancient church. Its

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-41.

height is about seventy-two feet, and the stones of which it is built are of circular shape and twelve or sixteen inches high. Up to the twelfth course the builder has employed grey sandstone, which has almost entirely resisted the weather; while the remainder is built of a buff-coloured freestone, now much worn away, especially at the joints. The thickness of the wall at the base is three feet and a half, which gradually tapers to about two feet seven inches. This difference, of course, is inconsiderable in proportion to the height of the tower, which consequently appears somewhat heavy, and lacks the gracefulness of outline which distinguishes the tower of Brechin. The entrance is towards the north, and is placed some two and a half feet above the ground. The stones surrounding the doorway are not perfectly upright, but, as at Brechin, converge slightly towards the top of the entrance. The interior is divided into six stages or sections.

A comparison of these two interesting structures will show that the differences between them are unimportant, while in plan and execution they present many points of close resemblance. "They are both," remarks Anderson, "situated in ancient churchyards, and both unconnected with any remains whether of monastery or church. From their form and structure it is apparent that they have never been so connected, and that they were designed from the first to stand alone.

From the solidity of their construction and the completeness of their preservation it is also reasonable to conclude that, if there had ever been many like them, traces of their remains would have been left in other localities to bear witness to the former existence of a type of structure so strong and so striking. But there are no such remains, and there is no evidence of any kind that there ever were more of these towers on the mainland of Scotland. Yet looking to their completeness of character, and their general correspondence of form, structure, and arrangements, it is impossible to regard them as freaks, or accidental products of local circumstances. Thus the archæologist, conducting his investigation on scientific principles, is inevitably led to the conclusion that they are outlying specimens of a well-marked type, which must have existed somewhere, if not in Scotland.”¹ We need, in fact, go no farther than Ireland to find there no fewer than seventy-six of these round towers still remaining.² We know how deep and wide was the influence exercised by the Irish Church on the early Christianity of Scotland, and we cannot doubt that the towers both of Brechin and Aber-

Round
towers in
Ireland.

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

² At Hythe in Kent, and Beckley in Oxfordshire (besides a truncated specimen at Little Saxham), round towers are still to be seen, in connection with their respective churches, from which, however, they would appear to have been originally distinct.—TRANSLATOR.

nethy were erected by Irish monks. We ought not to pass without mention the well-known quadrangular tower of St Regulus at St Andrews, which, however, with its three round arches and other special features, bears a Romanesque rather than a purely Celtic character.¹

Date of
their erec-
tion.

With regard to the date of the erection of the round towers, it may with safety be assigned to the period between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the twelfth centuries, a period which was one of transition between the flat-lintelled style of ecclesiastical architecture and that of the round-arched Romanesque. It was, as we know, a time of continuous peril both to Ireland and Scotland from the irruptions of the Northmen; and it was, we cannot doubt, for defence against these barbarian incursions that the round towers were erected, not only as a refuge for ecclesiastics, but also as a secure hiding-place for relics, shrines, books, bells, crosiers, and other treasures of the Church. The conjecture of the learned Dr Petrie, that the towers, or some of them at least, were constructed as early as the eighth century, hardly seems to be supported by sufficient evidence.²

¹ Anderson (*op. cit.*, pp. 33-42) gives a full description of the towers, with several illustrations.

² Earlier archaeologists have, as is well known, claimed for the round towers of Ireland even greater antiquity. The theory to which General Vallancy, at the end of the last century, lent the authority of his vast erudition—viz., that they were originally fire-

Not less valuable, as records of the Celtic Church, than the buildings which we have been describing, are the few precious manuscripts which have been preserved from those early times. Foremost among these is the well-known *Book of Deer*. This manuscript, which in the seventeenth century belonged to John Moore, bishop of Norwich, was in the year 1715 acquired, together with the rest of Dr Moore's valuable library, by the University of Cambridge, through the munificence of George I. It was not, however, until the year 1860, nearly a century and a half later, that the attention of scholars was first directed to it by Mr Bradshaw, the University librarian of Cambridge. It is written in small Roman minuscule characters, with the modifications common to Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS., the ornamentation being of the well-known Celtic zoomorphic type. The contents of the book are the six first

temples—was the natural corollary of his speculations as to the Semitic or Phoenician affinities of the Celtic race and language. Apart from any more positive indication, the use of cement in these structures, as well as the absence of any reference to them in the topographical nomenclature of Ireland, is a strong presumption against this theory. Dr Petrie, who assigns the earliest of the towers to the lifetime of St Patrick, bases his inference chiefly on the perfect agreement in style of the round towers with the original churches of that period. There is also a popular and widespread tradition assigning the erection of several of the existing towers to Goban Saer, who flourished in the seventh century. Dr Petrie, however, is in agreement with Mr Anderson in regarding the ninth and tenth centuries as the probable date of the erection of most of the towers; while he places some of them as late as the thirteenth.

—TRANSLATOR.

and part of the seventh chapters of St Matthew's Gospel, the first four and part of the fifth chapters of St Mark, the three first chapters of St Luke, the entire Gospel of St John, a portion of the Celtic office for the Visitation of the Sick,¹ and the Apostles' Creed. The text of the Gospels is mainly that of the Vulgate, with certain variations, however, such as are usually met with in the Irish manuscripts. The only passage in the Celtic language which occurs is a rubric, in the office of the Visitation, directing the administration of the Viaticum : "Here give to him the sacrifice."² According to the learned editor of the Book of Deer, the volume, which is of small octavo form, containing eighty-six leaves, was probably written in the monastery of Deer, in Buchan, and may be assigned to a date not later than the ninth century.³ It is, we need not say, of special interest and value to the student of early Church history, if only as an addition to our scanty knowledge of the attainments of the Columban monks. "It tells us that the clerics of Deer still followed the example of their first

Its value.

¹ This fragment will be found in the Appendix (No. VI.) We may mention that two other early copies of the Gospel, now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, contain similar offices for the Visitation of the Sick. One of these MSS., written by Dimma Macc Nathi, is known as the Book of Dimma ; the other is called the Book of Moling. "Nomen autem scriptoris Mulling dicitur." Moling, Bishop of Ferns, died in 697.

² "Hisund dubair sacorfaice dau." See *post*, p. 399.

³ *Book of Deer* (Stuart), pp. xvii-xxiii.

founder, who was famed as a diligent scribe. It shows us that besides being expert caligraphists, having some skill in painting and illumination, they were educated men, having a sufficient knowledge of at least one language besides their own to enable them to transcribe it intelligently, and to use it in the services of the Church. This is not much to say of them, but it is a great deal more than we have it in our power to say of any other community or institution from similar evidence, if we except the parent community of Iona itself.”¹

On blank leaves or margins of the manuscript of Deer—which, as we have said, is, with the exception of a single phrase, written entirely in Latin—there are a number of entries in the Gaelic language, belonging probably to the eleventh or twelfth century. Some two hundred years after the death of the monastic scribe, who ended his work by asking of the reader a prayer for the soul of the sinner who wrote it,² another hand added these notices in the Celtic language of the time. They refer mainly to the various grants made to the monastery at different times, commencing with its foundation; and they are of interest as showing that, down to the time of

Gaelic entries in the Book of Deer.

¹ Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, vol. i. pp. 138, 139.

² Thus translated by Stokes: “Be it on [the] conscience of every one in whom shall be for grace the booklet with splendour, that he give a blessing on the soul of the wretchock [misellus] who wrote it.”—*Book of Deer*, p. lx.

David I. and the introduction of the feudal system into Scotland, the Gaelic tongue was spoken in parts of the country where no trace of it now remains.

Early copy
of Adam-
nan's Life.

Another valuable manuscript of the Scoto-Celtic Church is the ancient copy of Adamnan's Life of St Columba, which was discovered in 1845, by Dr Keller of Zurich, in the Schaffhausen library. It was for centuries in the possession of the monastery of Reichenau, on Lake Constance, whither Irish and Scottish monks formerly resorted in large numbers. The date at which the manuscript was brought from Scotland is unknown; but it would appear from internal evidence to have been transcribed by Dorbeni, the same who died Abbot of Iona, nine years after the death of Adamnan.¹

St Colum-
ba as a
scribe.

St Columba himself is well known to have been an industrious scribe; and we have seen how, up to the very day of his death, he was engaged on a transcription of the Psalms. There is a celebrated manuscript, which formerly belonged to the monastery founded by the saint at Durrow, in Ireland, and which a well-grounded tradition asserts to have been the work of his own hand. It is a volume of 248 leaves (now in the possession of Trinity College, Dublin), containing the four Gospels according to the Vulgate. Each of the Gospels is preceded by a well-executed painting

Book of
Durrow.

¹ See *ante*, vol. i. p. 147.

representing the animal symbolic of the Evangelist. It was, we know, the custom of the Celtic Church to preserve the copies of the Gospels in costly cases. The manuscript of Durrow possessed such a case, which was seen by Roderick O'Flaherty as late as 1677, but disappeared in the troubled times that followed.¹ Besides this copy of the Gospels, St Columba is said to have written the Psalter known as *Cathach* or *Battler*, ^{The} *Cathach.* which belonged to the family of O'Donnell, and is now, together with its silver case, constructed in the eleventh century, in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy.² We cannot, finally, pass without mention the magnificent book of the Gospels which was written at Lindisfarne in the ^{Gospels of} *Lindis-* *farne.* seventh century, in a Celtic hand, although by Anglo-Saxon scribes. The elaborate and beautiful ornamentation of this manuscript is perhaps only excelled by that of the famous Book of Kells, to which Giraldus Cambrensis referred with wonder and admiration in the twelfth century.³

The Celtic manuscripts which we have been

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 144-146.

² It is curious to note, with reference to the venerable tradition that this Psalter was written by St Columba's own hand, that the wording of Psalm xxxiii. 2, differs from that cited by Adamnan (*Vita*, lib. iii. c. 24) as the last verse written by the saint before his death. See Reeves (Introd. to *Life*, p. lxxxvi).—TRANSLATOR.

³ The Annals of Ulster (an. 1006), and also the Four Masters, record that this book, which they style the "Great Gospel of Columcille," was stolen from the church of Cenannus (*i.e.*, Kells), and recovered after the lapse of two months.—TRANSLATOR.

Peculiarities of
Celtic man-
uscripts.

considering present, when compared with Greek and Italian writings of the same date, a marked individuality of their own, not only in the general character of their calligraphy, but also in the style of their decorations, which are often of the most elaborate nature. The contrast has been well pointed out by Mr Anderson. "The characteristics," he observes, "of the manuscripts of Greece and Italy previous to the eighth century were, (1) that they were written in letters of one uniform size, the initials plain, and but slightly, if at all, enlarged; (2) the first two or three lines were distinguished by being written in red letters; (3) drawings were but rarely inserted, and seldom occupied entire pages, as they usually consisted of illustrations of the subject, and were intercalated in the text. The contrast to this in the character of the decorated manuscripts of the Celtic school is sufficiently striking. They have the initial letters written of gigantic size. Their decorations are not of the nature of illustrations of the subject, but simple ornamentation elaborated to a degree which renders it bewildering. But the analysis of its nature reduces it to a few simple elements —the use of dots in different-coloured inks; the employment of simple interlaced work in panels of different colours; the use of composite interlaced work, made up of the bodies and limbs of impossible animals, or of human figures, intertwined and contorted in an utterly unnatural manner; a

peculiar adaptation of the double spiral, &c. Most of these elements are more or less common to the decorative art of other times and other regions; but the peculiar combinations and uses of them, which are so characteristic of the school in which these manuscripts were produced, are not found beyond the range of Celtic influence.”¹

The impulse which has been given of late years to antiquarian research, especially in all that relates to the early Christianity of these islands, has been the means of bringing to light a considerable number of valuable relics of the monastic period of the Scottish Church. The excavation of a large sandhill at Birsay, in Orkney, in 1862, resulted in the discovery of a burial-place a hundred and sixty-eight feet in diameter, and some fifteen feet deep. Besides numerous remains of human skeletons, and household implements of various kinds, there was found an interesting relic of the Celtic church, in the shape of a bell ^{Other relics of the Celtic Church.} ^{Bells.} which had undoubtedly been used in connection with the labours of the early missionaries. Its dimensions are twelve inches in height, and nine inches by seven in width. It has been satisfactorily proved that there existed at Birsay a community of Celtic monks, who were slain in one of the incursions of the Northmen, and buried on the same spot. Earl Thorfinn, as we have seen,²

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 157.

² See *ante*, vol. i. p. 263.

erected a church at Birsay about the year 1060, on the conversion of the Northmen to Christianity. The spot thus selected would naturally be one already sacred by its history and associations ; and a venerable tradition, which is testified to by an illustrated description of Birsay published in 1774, did, in fact, connect Birsay with a Columban community, and an ancient church dedicated to their holy founder. Special interest attaches to the bell recently discovered here, in the fact that it was not improbably blessed by St Columba himself, and sent by him to the Orkneys. We know from his Life by Adamnan that the saint, when residing at the Court of King Brude, bespoke the protection of a chief of Orkney for the missionaries whom he had sent thither, and that St Cormac, the leader of the mission, owed to this circumstance the preservation of his life.¹

Other bells of a similar character have been found at Birnie in Moray, Glenlyon, and elsewhere. They are made of iron, coated with bronze ; the different parts are hammered and riveted together, as boilers are constructed now ; they are of quadrangular form and tapering towards the top, which is surmounted by a handle. A few examples made entirely of bronze, and generally more artistically finished, still exist, such as the bell of St Adamnan at Insh, and those of St Kentigern, St Fillan, and St Finan, the last

¹ Adamnan, *Vita S. Columbae*, lib. ii. cap. 43.

of which was discovered in a private house in Hertfordshire (whither it had been brought from Scotland in 1798), and is now in the Edinburgh Museum. The Royal Irish Academy possesses one of the oldest of these bells. It is commonly known as St Patrick's, and is preserved in a case adorned with Celtic ornamentation of the most elaborate kind.

Of this class of objects which have been pre-
served to us from the days of early Celtic Christianity, the most valuable and interesting of all is perhaps the famous crosier of St Fillan. The history of the discovery of this curious relic affords a singular illustration of the slight interest which, up to recent times, was taken in the acquisition of such objects. It was in July 1782 that a student of Christchurch, Oxford, when on a vacation ramble, discovered in the cottage of a day-
^{Its discov-}
labourer named Malise Doire, in the village of Killin, on Loch Tay, the upper part of St Fillan's crosier, which was popularly known as the *Quig-rich*. There was shown to him at the same time a copy, certified under the Privy Seal of Scotland, of a document granted on July 6, 1487, by King James III. to Malise Doire, confirming to him the possession of the relic, which had belonged to his ancestors since, and before, the time of Robert Bruce. The existence of this remarkable object was communicated by the traveller to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, who, however, appear

to have taken no steps to acquire it; and the possessor shortly afterwards emigrated to America, taking the relic with him. Fortunately it was not lost sight of; and a few years ago the directors of the National Museum were enabled to secure the treasure for the sum of five hundred dollars, and thus to restore it to Scotland.

Only the upper part of the staff, or crosier proper, exists. It is about nine inches in height, and consists of an outer case of silver, which enclosed the corresponding portion of an inner and more ancient crosier, made of bronze, ornamented with niello-work in copper. The silver case, which is wrought by hand, and adorned with filigree-work, consists of three parts: the crook, which is of the ancient Celtic, or *walking-stick*, form; the bulb, into which it was inserted; and an ornamental cresting, binding together the different portions. Eight lozenge-shaped plaques ornament the crook, the workmanship of these being evidently that of two separate hands. "One is an elegant scroll-work, formed of a single wire, irregularly placed, but boldly designed; the other is a geometrical pattern, poor in design and feeble in execution,"¹ and obviously of much later date. The first or earlier filigree-work was the original ornamentation of the ancient crosier of bronze which was contained inside the silver case. These filigree plaques were at some time stripped

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 220.

from the older crook and affixed to the outer covering; and it then became necessary to complete the ornamentation of the latter, which was done by means of the later and inferior work mentioned above. “Before the older crosier was thus stripped of its filigree plaques, it must have been a work of art of no common order. In style and execution its filigree patterns greatly resemble those on the cover of the Prayer-book of Charles the Bald, preserved in the Louvre, and dating from the first half of the ninth century.”¹

A fragment of another pastoral staff of copper, or coppered bronze, was found near the church of Hoddam, one of the foundations of St Kentigern, and is now in the Museum at Edinburgh. The only other relic of the kind known to exist is the *Bachul More*, or “great staff,” of St Moluag of Lismore, which is only two feet ten inches in length, and is made of wood, partly plated with copper gilt. It is now in the possession of the Duke of Argyll.

The proprietorship of the crosier of St Fillan carried with it certain civil and ecclesiastical privileges, which are of great importance and interest. The deed of confirmation of which we have spoken, granted by King James III., sets forth as follows: 1. The crosier has been from the time of Robert Bruce, and before, in the possession of the family of Doire or Dewar. 2. It has been

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 223.

known from time immemorial by the name of the *Quigrich*. 3. The owner for the time being is, with regard to the possession of the relic, declared free from all ecclesiastical and civil interference. 4. He is responsible in this matter only to the king and his successors. 5. It is forbidden to any man to put any hindrance in his way, when he travels through the kingdom with the relic. Another document, dated in the year 1428, gives the result of an inquiry which was held on April 22d of that year by the Bailie of Glendochart, with reference to the crosier of St Fillan. Fifteen witnesses, it would appear, confirmed on oath the following facts : 1. The owner of the relic termed the *Coygerach*, whose name was Jore or Dewar, received yearly, from every inhabitant who possessed a merk of land in the parish of Glendochart, half a boll of meal : those who possessed less, to give in proportion to the amount of land which they held. 2. The custody of the *Coygerach* was believed to have been granted to an ancestor of the then possessor, Finlay Dewar, by a successor or *Co-arb* of St Fillan. 3. Finlay Dewar was acknowledged as the right and lawful inheritor of this privilege. 4. It was believed to date from a period anterior to that of Robert Bruce. 5. In return for the rights and privileges which they possessed, the hereditary guardians of the relic were bound to the following services : If any inhabitant of the parish were robbed of

cattle or other property, and were unable to pursue the thief either from not knowing who he was, or from fear of his enemies, he would send four pence, or else food and a pair of shoes, to “Dewar of the *Coyerach*,” who was then bound to make search for the stolen property within the bounds of the kingdom of Scotland.¹

We can infer, from the existence of the curious obligation just cited, what special significance was anciently attached to the possession of St Fillan's crosier. The custodian of the relic for the time being was in fact regarded as the legitimate successor of the Abbot of Glendochart. The staff itself, as an undoubted relic of St Fillan, would be regarded by the people with the utmost veneration. Giraldus Cambrensis mentions that in his time, bells, rings, pastoral staffs, and similar relics of the saints, were held in such reverence in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, that the people would fear to swear falsely upon them even more than upon the Gospels themselves.² The duty of the possessor of the crosier would thus be to

Veneration
for the
relics of
Celtic
saints.

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 229, 230. “Pro quibus commodis et privilegiis præfati jurati dicunt, quod si contigerit aliqua bona vel catalla rapta esse vel furata ab aliquo dictam parochiam de Glendochirde habitante . . . tum idem (Jore de la Coygerach) prosecuetur dicta catalla.”

² *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, lib. i. cap. ii. So the Annals of Innisfallen (quoted by Moore, *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 33) tell how the son of the Earl of Clare and Bryan Roe O'Brien swore to each other “all the oaths in Munster, *as bells, bachelas, and relicks of saints*, to be true to one another.” See *Annals of Four Masters* (ed. Connellan), ann. 1277, p. 90.—TRANSLATOR.

trace and identify the supposed robbers, who would be compelled, together with all the adult inhabitants of the suspected village, to clear themselves by taking an oath upon the relic. The *Clog-oir*, or golden bell of St Serf, would appear to have been employed for a similar purpose as late as the year 1834.

The researches of Dr Stuart¹ have made it clear that the staff of St Fillan was in all probability numbered among the sacred *vexilla* or battle-ensigns of Scotland, and as such was borne into the field of Bannockburn in 1314. The Scots possessed similar sacred standards in the staff and psalter of St Columba, and the famous Black Cross of St Margaret, which was taken by the English at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346.²

Besides the relics which we have mentioned, there is another still in existence, which the researches of Mr Anderson have shown almost, if not quite, conclusively to be no other than the celebrated and sacred object known for ages as the *Brecbennoch*. The earliest notice which we have of this is in a grant made by William the Lion, between 1204 and 1211, to the monks of

Sacred
vexilla or
battle-en-
signs.

The *Brec-
bennoch*.

¹ Proceedings of Soc. of Antiq. Scotl., vol. xii. p. 134.

² "Crucem Scotiae nigram."—MS. Life of Marg. by Turgot (Brit. Mus.) The cross had been brought to Scotland by Margaret, who left it as an heirloom to her sons. David I. built for its reception the beautiful church of Holyrood. The Black Cross was carried off to England by Edward I., but restored by Queen Isabella in 1327.—TRANSLATOR.

Arbroath. "I have granted and confirmed"—thus runs the document—"to the monks of Arbroath the custody of the Brachbennoch, and to the same monks the land of Forglen given to St Columba and to the Brachbennoch; . . . they making in return the service in the army with the aforesaid brachbennach (*sic*), which is due to me from these lands."¹ The grant is repeated in almost the same terms in a confirmation of Alexander II. in 1214-1218.² A century later the lands of Forglen, together with the Brecbennoch, and all rights and duties thereto appertaining, were granted by Abbot Bernard and the convent to Malcolm of Monymusk.³ In 1411 they appear to have reverted to the monastery, and a few years later were conferred on the family of Irvine of Drum. Alexander Irvine did homage in 1481 for the lands of Forglen, and promised to do service in the king's army, when called on by the abbot and convent, under their standard—namely, the Brecbennoch.

As to what the Brecbennoch really was, it has perhaps been somewhat too hastily assumed that it was some sort of banner.⁴ The word is

Its probable identity with the Monymusk reliquary.

¹ *Regist. Vet. de Aberbrothoc*, p. 10. At what period the Brecbennoch was first associated with Forglen (the parish church of which was dedicated to St Adamnan) is unknown. The monks of Arbroath would of course perform the military service by a lay-substitute.—TRANSLATOR.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

⁴ See Reeves, *Pref. to Adamnan*, p. xcvi; *Reg. Vet. de Aberbroth.*, *Pref.* p. xxiii.

of course akin to *Clog-bennoch*—sacred bell—and others of the same kind, and signifies a sacred or blessed *breac*. The only *breac* known to exist at present is the Breac-Modoc, preserved in St Modois Church at Drumbane until 1846, and now in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy. But this *breac* is not a banner of any kind, but a reliquary of the form and construction employed in the Celtic Church. It is at least probable, therefore, that the Brecbennoch of St Columba was a reliquary of the same kind; and this conjecture is confirmed by the interesting fact that a reliquary of precisely similar description still exists in the possession of the ancient family of Monymusk, to whom, as we have seen, the custody of the Brecbennoch was committed in the fourteenth century. “If this be not the missing *vexillum*,” remarks Anderson,¹ “it is certainly one of the strangest coincidences that a reliquary answering in so many particulars to the Brecbennoch should still be preserved at Monymusk.” The shrine in question, apart from its historic interest, is a work of no little artistic beauty. It is

Description of the reliquary. made of wood, plated partly with bronze, partly with silver. The form of the reliquary is that of the temple of Jerusalem, as depicted in the Book of Kells. It is ornamented profusely with the Celtic zoomorphic designs, and with an elaborate and beautiful pattern of diverging spirals and

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 250.

trumpet-scrolls. It is further adorned with a number of enamels and precious stones, and is provided with rings on either side, doubtless for the passage of the staves or poles by which it was carried. The shrine would of course contain some portion of the relics of the great national saint whose name it bore; but no express mention of these is made in the documents to which we have referred.

In addition to the various kinds of relics which have been described in the foregoing pages, there has yet to be mentioned another class of monuments, which still exist in different parts of the country, and testify to the faith of the Celtic people and to the gradual development of art in their midst. These are the sculptured stones, which, according to the latest archæological researches, fall naturally into three groups or divisions. In the first are those whose characteristic feature is the cross. These are found in an erect position: they are carefully shaped, and an ornamental design of beading or pellet-work usually runs round the edges. The cross is found, as a rule, on the obverse side, while the reverse is covered with a great variety of figures of men and beasts. The cross, which generally occupies the full length of the stone, is of peculiar form, the arms being frequently connected by a circle. The ornamentation of the cross consists of interlacing patterns, spirals, and fretwork, which is

Sculptured
monu-
ments.

sometimes confined to the stem, at others covering the arms also. Among the subjects most frequently represented on the reverse side of the stones are figures of horsemen, stag-hunts, men killing lions, lions attacking men, and similar subjects. A glance at the style of ornamentation found on these stones is sufficient to show that it is of the same distinctively Celtic character which, as we have already seen, distinguishes the manuscripts and metal-work of that period. Examples of the class of stone monuments which we have been describing have been discovered throughout a wide district of eastern Scotland, extending from Fife to Caithness. Not a single specimen has been found in the west of Scotland, the Hebrides, Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, or Scandinavia.¹

The second group of sculptured stones consists of unshaped boulders of oblong form, bearing the cross on the obverse side, like the monuments just described, and decorated with symbolic figures on the reverse. There is, however, a marked difference between the sculptures of this and the former class of monuments, inasmuch as they are never in relief, but always in incised work. The sphere within which these stones have been found is practically identical with that mentioned in the preceding paragraph. In a few cases the peculiar features of these two classes run into one another, the cross being sometimes carved in relief, while

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 73.

the symbolic figures are incised. There is little doubt that these unshaped slabs represent a type of monument considerably anterior to those of which we have spoken above.

The third and last group consist of detached crosses, carved out of the solid stone, and standing upright on pedestals. The most important example of this class is a cross in Iona, which measures fourteen feet in height, and two feet in breadth at the bottom of the shaft. The ornamentation closely resembles that found on the first class of monuments which we have described. Crosses of the same kind, differing only slightly in detail, have been discovered in Galloway and the Isle of Man. Others have been found whose decoration consists of carved patterns of foliage. The employment of this exhibits an undoubted decadence from the early purity of the Celtic style, which admitted only the zoomorphic ornamentation. That these crosses belong to a later period is further evident from the figure of the crucifix being not unfrequently represented on them, which is never the case in the earliest Celtic art. The majority of them have been discovered in the Western Highlands.¹

Recent excavations in Iona have brought to light two stone crosses, for which Mr Anderson is probably right in claiming a higher antiquity than for any of those which we have mentioned.

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 82, 83.

One is described as a mere boulder of granite, measuring some twenty inches by fifteen, and bearing on one side a cross of Celtic form. These slabs have no ornamentation of any kind ; they are, in fact, “the plainest and simplest monuments which it is possible to conceive—stones unshaped and unerected, merely marked with the symbol of the cross.”¹

Ornamentation
on the
cross-bear-
ing monu-
ments.

The ornamentation of the monuments bearing the cross on the obverse consists, as a rule, of three kinds of decoration — namely, interlaced work, fretwork, and divergent spirals. These are formed sometimes of single lines or bands—sometimes of two, three, or more, woven together in highly artistic patterns, which are divided into regularly recurring panels on the surface of the slab. The whole character of the work is marked by an originality and power which bears witness to the intense feeling with which the artists must have been animated. The reproduction of the more elaborate of these monuments requires no small degree of artistic skill ; and their original designers must have possessed a culture, an educated taste, and a facility of art-composition which is rarely met with in the history of communities. The Celtic sculptures doubtless drew their inspiration largely from the earlier and elaborately illuminated manuscripts, as is indeed clearly demonstrated by a comparison of the

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 87.

ornamentation found in the two classes of monument. It is interesting to note that the earliest Irish stone monuments are almost without the ornament which appears so profusely on those found in Scotland. The former, of course, belong to the first epoch of Celtic art, while the latter date from a period which succeeded the highest development of manuscript decoration, and in which, therefore, the most perfect and elaborate examples of ornament were ready to the sculptor's hand. It is this peculiar style of ornamentation, which is thus found in manuscripts and stone monuments alike, that forms the essential characteristic of ancient Celtic art.¹

Besides the decorative work which we have described, the cross-bearing monuments are further ornamented with figure-work of various kinds. Mr Anderson² has divided these into three classes: (1) conventional symbols, such as the cross, the serpent and rod, the crescent, the double disc, &c.; (2) representations of ideal or mythical subjects, as angels or centaurs; (3) representations of actually existing forms. All these in their general treatment and style of ornamentation bear a distinctively Celtic character. The latter class of representation, borrowed largely as it is from the ordinary life of the period, throws a remarkable and interesting light upon the customs and civilisation of those

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 106-109.

² *Ibid.*, p. 118.

early times. We find in them not only the forms of the chariots, vessels, weapons, and musical instruments then in use, but also the various dresses of the huntsman, the warrior, the pilgrim, and the priest. It must be noticed that these elaborate representations are found exclusively on the type of monument characterised by the cross on the obverse. The figure-work found on the earlier type (that without the cross) is alike poor in conception and limited in range; while in the monuments of a later date the symbolic figures are wholly wanting, the cross being found alone. Historically speaking, the sculptured monuments would thus fall into three divisions: (1) those bearing symbols alone; (2) symbols or figures in connection with the cross; (3) the cross alone—the latter type being that of monuments later than the twelfth century.¹

Free-standing crosses.

In addition to the variously ornamented monumental slabs, there is, as already mentioned, a third group of sculptured stones, consisting of detached free-standing crosses, which may themselves be subdivided into two classes. The first of these is distinguished by the ornamentation being of purely Celtic type—namely, interlaced work, spirals, and fretwork; while the second presents several different features. The crosses of this latter group, instead of being recessed at the intersections, have the arms and summit pro-

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 126, 127.

jecting from a solid central circle. The employment of foliage, moreover, in their ornamentation, exhibits, as has been said, a distinct decadence from the Celtic purity of style. These crosses are, in fact, an adaptation or survival of Romanesque forms. In eastern Scotland, where the native sculpture attained its highest perfection, we find hardly any trace of the Roman influence; but it prevailed largely in the Western Highlands and Islands, and continued to flourish there for centuries. The art which produced the monuments found in this area can hardly be called Celtic: it consists rather of Romanesque conceptions adapted and carried out by Celtic skill. The true home of Celtic art is the east of Scotland, where were elaborated those Gospel-books and Psalters, and those marvels of stone and metal work, of which the design and execution alike still charm all who behold them.¹

With regard to the symbolic representations found on the early Celtic monuments, these, as a rule, although differing in minor details, are of the same style and character as those which have been preserved to us in the ancient Christian remains of other European countries. Among the groups most frequently represented is that of Daniel in the den of lions—sometimes between two lions, as at St Vigeans, in other cases with four or seven. The great cross at Iona (called St

Symbolic
representa-
tions on
the monu-
ments.

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 129-131.

1. Scrip-
tural sub-
jects.

Martin's) contains a representation of the same subject. Of even more frequent occurrence than the figure of Daniel is that of Jonas and the whale, as, for example, in the Woodwray monument, now at Abbotsford. On six of the Scottish monuments we find the subject of David rending the jaws of the lion, while a cross-shaft at St Andrews bears a rude representation of the raising of Lazarus. On the reverse of a slab at Dunkeld is depicted the destruction of Pharaoh's hosts in the Red Sea, and another slab at Meigle (destroyed by the burning of the church in 1869) had a group representing the ascent of Elias into heaven. The symbolism of these representations, in the ancient Celtic monuments as well as in the catacombs at Rome and elsewhere, is of course obvious, and need not be further dwelt on here.¹

2. Subjects from natural history.

Besides the Scriptural subjects which we have been describing, there are others which would seem to be susceptible of an interpretation either symbolic or realistic—viz., those representations, almost peculiar to the early Celtic monuments, which appear to be borrowed from scenes of contemporary life. We should add, however, that the realistic method of interpreting these subjects is opposed by the best qualified authorities on ancient Celtic art. “The custom,” observes Anderson,² “of presenting in monumental

¹ See Kraus, *Realencyclopaedia*, vol. i. p. 343, art. Daniel, and vol. ii. p. 67, art. Jonas.

² *Op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 163.

sculpture historical representations or secular scenes derived from the life or times of the persons commemorated, was not only extremely rare and exceptional everywhere throughout the whole period of early Christian art, but was absolutely unknown in this country so far as any positive evidence exists. No monument is known to bear any commemorative reference, sculptured or inscribed, to any historical event occurring within the country in early Christian times." The explanation and the significance of the representations in question, is in fact to be sought in the extensive system of symbolism which was developed in the middle ages, and was expressed in the *bestiararies*, or spiritualised natural histories of those times. It will be sufficient to refer here to the representations of stags and stag-hunting so commonly found on ancient slabs. The significance of these is thus expounded in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, or Garden of Delights, a treatise of the twelfth century, which unfortunately perished in the siege of Strasburg in 1870. "We offer to God the spoils of our chase, when, by example or precept, we convert the wild beasts, that is to say, the wicked men. The chase of the Christian is the conversion of sinners. These are represented by hares, by goats, by wild boars, or by stags. The hares signify the incontinent, the goats the proud, the wild boars the rich, and the stags the worldly-wise. These four beasts we

The bestiaries.

smite with four darts by our example of continence, humility, voluntary poverty, and perfect charity ; we pursue them with dogs when we arouse their fears by the preaching of the Word.” The symbolic significance of the tiger in the *bestiaries* is represented to us on the stone at Newbiggin of Leslie, in Aberdeenshire, where we see a tigress gazing at her image in a mirror, which, according to the legend, is placed in her way by the hunters, so that while she remains fascinated before it, they seize the opportunity to rob her den, and carry off her cubs. The lesson taught by the representation is a warning against the seductive influence exercised by worldly pleasures on the soul of the Christian.¹

3. Conventional figures.

There are also found symbolic figures of other and purely conventional character—such as the double circle, with or without the addition of a Z-shaped rod, the outline of a house, the mirror and the comb—of which no satisfactory interpretation has yet been found. In a range of caves on the northern shore of the Firth of Forth may be seen a large number of figures of this kind, in combination with representations of crosses, fishes, birds, quadrupeds, serpents, &c. These symbols are of undoubtedly sacred character, the caves themselves being traditionally associated with the hermits of the early Scottish Church. They would seem to be closely connected with

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 163-170.

the religious symbolism of the catacombs, while presenting various features peculiar to Celtic Christian art.¹

The number of inscribed early Christian monuments in Scotland that have been preserved to us is comparatively small. We may instance as one of the most interesting the inscription on the stone of St Vigeans, in Forfarshire, already mentioned. It is in minuscule characters, bearing a general resemblance to the lettering of the Book of Kells and other contemporary manuscripts; and Anderson rightly concludes that, had it been discovered in Ireland, it might reasonably be ascribed to the end of the ninth century, to which period the Irish inscriptions in similar characters (and usually associated with a peculiar form of cross) have been proved to belong. As it is, all that can certainly be said is, that the St Vigeans inscription is of late Celtic character, approximating to the form of lettering employed in Ireland from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. The inscription, according to one reading, contains three proper names: Drosten, which was the name of the first Abbot of Deer; Forcus, or Fergus, mentioned by Adamnan as a son of Mac Erc; and Voret, Ferot, or Pherath, one of the Pictish kings. Anderson assigns the monument to the tenth or eleventh century, and conjectures that it was probably commemorative of the individuals

Inscribed
monu-
ments.

The stone
of St
Vigeans.

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 176-187.

mentioned, although not necessarily a sepulchral memorial erected over their remains.¹

Ogham inscriptions.

Of quite another kind are the inscriptions in the so-called *Ogham* character,² which consist of certain lines or groups of lines arranged either straight or obliquely on, under, or through a stem. These lines or digits are found sometimes singly, sometimes in groups of from two to five together. Ogham inscriptions have been discovered in various parts of the mainland of Scotland, as well as in Orkney and Shetland. The different positions and groupings of the lines, in combination with five other signs,³ form altogether an alphabet of twenty-five characters. Whatever the language was which this alphabet represented, it is clear that its area was conterminous with the area of those earlier monuments already described which bear the cross on the obverse, and figures and other symbols on the reverse. Inscriptions of this class, in fact, undoubtedly belong to the earliest and purest period of Celtic art, as is evident from the form of cross with which they are almost always associated. Dr Graves has done much towards the deciphering of them by a comparison of all the known inscriptions with the

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 200.

² The name of *Ogham* is derived, according to an Irish MS. of the fourteenth century, from its supposed inventor, one Ogma, son of Elathan. The real origin of the word, however, is very doubtful.

—TRANSLATOR.

³ Probably diphthongs. These characters, however, are undoubtedly later than the simple lines.—TRANSLATOR.

texts of the Irish manuscripts of the ninth century.

A number of the monuments bear bilingual inscriptions—inscriptions, that is, in Latin and in Roman characters on the face of the stone, and in the Celtic language and Ogham character on the edge. The only monument of this class known to exist in Scotland is the Newton stone in Aberdeenshire.¹

In the same way as the Ogham inscriptions are Runic monuments, the expression of the ancient Celtic tongue, so the monuments inscribed in Runic are the remains of the old language of the Norsemen. Inscribed Runic monuments have been found within the area once conquered and colonised by the Vikings of Norway, including Orkney, Shetland, the Hebrides, and Man. The only complete monument of this kind in the Hebrides is the stone from Kilbar, in Barra, the inscription upon which, according to Professor Stephens, reads as follows : “Ur and Thur erected this stone after Raskur. Christ rest his soul.” The most interesting monument of this class, however, is the cross at Ruthwell, in Annandale, with its sculptured scenes from the life of our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, and ornamental scroll-work, “treated,” as Anderson remarks, “with all the grace and freedom of classic naturalism.”² The decipherment of the

Bilingual inscriptions.

The Ruthwell cross.

¹ One has been discovered in Ireland, two in Cornwall, and eleven in Wales.

² Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 238.

Runic inscription incised on the raised borders of the shaft is due to the labours of Mr Kemble. He showed that it consists of a hymn on the Passion of our Lord, the author of which an inscription on the upper part of the cross declares to be Caedmon, an Anglo-Saxon poet of the seventh century.¹

Christian inscriptions of the Roman period.

As an example of the still earlier inscriptions in lettering plainly Roman in style, although somewhat debased, may be instanced the Catstone, on the bank of the Almond, six miles from Edinburgh. The inscription on this boulder, in memory of one Vetta, son of Victus, has characteristics which show unmistakably that it is of Christian, not pagan origin.² In conclusion, we may refer to the ancient and interesting monument which stands near the town of Whithorn, in Wigtownshire. It is a stone four feet high by two broad, bearing on one of its sides a cross within a circle, the cross itself being formed by the intersection of four arcs of circles. On the left upper corner is incised the *Chrisma* or cross of Constantine. This symbol is first seen in the Roman Catacombs towards the beginning of the fourth century; and

¹ This was remarkably confirmed by the discovery at Vercelli, in 1823, of an Anglo-Saxon MS. containing a poem of which many of the lines proved to be identical with the Ruthwell inscription. See Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 242.—TRANSLATOR.

² The inscription reads: “IN OC TUMULO JACIT VETTUS F. VICTI,” —a formula which has never been found on other than Christian monuments.

as it appears on monuments of Gaul of about a hundred years later, it would seem reasonable to conclude with Anderson¹ that such symbols would not be found in Britain until a still later date. The Whithorn inscription, therefore, which appears below the sacred sign, and is in rustic Roman capitals, probably belongs to the end of the sixth century. It reads thus: "LOCI [S]TI PETRI APUSTOLI."²

We have reviewed in the preceding pages the different periods of Celtic art, and brought to the notice of the reader some of its more notable productions. With the introduction of a regular diocesan system, and under the influence of the new and vigorous religious Orders which came to Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from England and France, Scottish architectural genius reached its highest point. The result was the erection of a number of cathedral and monastic churches which need not fear comparison with the noblest creations of medieval art in other countries.

The earliest examples of medieval architecture in Scotland present all the characteristics of the Norman style, such as we find in contemporary English structures. The Norman period extended over the reigns of Malcolm III., Edgar, Alexan-

The medi-
eval archi-
tecture of
Scotland.

The Nor-
man period,
1057-1153.

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 253.

² It was probably not a sepulchral monument, but, like the stone of St Vigeans mentioned above, a memorial cross, raised in honour of the apostle.—TRANSLATOR.

der I., and David I.—that is, from the year 1057 to 1153 ; and among the ecclesiastical buildings of this style still remaining are greater or lesser portions of the following churches—viz., Dalmeny, Dunfermline, Dryburgh, St Margaret's Chapel in Edinburgh Castle (formerly attached to a convent of noble maidens), Kelso, and the cathedral of Kirkwall. The last is a noble structure, of fine proportions. It was commenced in 1138, and dedicated to St Magnus : the style is for the most part pure Norman, but portions are Early English or Decorated.¹ The pillars of the nave are fifteen feet in circumference. There is an entrance-door both in the north and the south aisles, the former being intended for women and the latter for men. The eastern portion of the choir, behind the high altar, forms the Lady-chapel. Kelso presents an interesting example of the late Norman style, with its massive central tower and richly ornamented intersecting arcades. In many respects it recalls the fine contemporary structures of the Rhine provinces, particularly those in Cologne.

Kelso.
Transition period,
1153-1214.

The transitional period of architecture, from the Norman to the Early English, includes the reigns of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion, from 1153 to 1214. To this time belong the churches of Arbroath and Coldingham ; the naves of Inch-

¹ Kirkwall has a special interest not only as a fine and perfect specimen of Norman architecture, but as almost, if not quite, the only example of that style north of the Grampians.—TRANSLATOR.

colm, Stirling, and Jedburgh; and the eastern portions of Tynningham and St Andrews. The choir of St Andrews, like those of Elgin and Kirkwall, has a rectangular, not an apsidal termination. Some of the finest ecclesiastical buildings in Scotland were erected during the transitional and Early English period, which extended to the end of the reign of Alexander II. (1214-1285). Among these were the choir of Glasgow, with the unrivalled eastern crypt, and Elgin Cathedral, which is nearly all in the purest Early English style. The noble western doorway, and the eastern window, consisting of a double tier of five tall lancets, the upper tier surmounted by a beautiful rose-window, are particularly noticeable.

The churches erected in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries testify to the close connection that existed between Scotland and France; for their architecture, as a rule, bears more traces of the flowing lines of the French Flamboyant than of the stately Decorated style of England, or even of the later Perpendicular. The famous abbey church of Melrose presents a fine example of both styles, the nave and south transept closely resembling the English Perpendicular, while the eastern portion is of the most florid French Flamboyant character. The naves of Glasgow and Dunkeld, and the beautiful chapter-house of Elgin, are fine examples of the Decorated style.

The Spanish influence, as well as the French,

Roslin
Chapel.

is visible in some of the later churches of Scotland. The most remarkable instance of this is in the well-known Roslin Chapel, near Edinburgh, which is in the richest and latest style of Gothic, more resembling the Spanish Flamboyant than any other. The decoration is elaborate to excess, but is characterised in parts by great clumsiness of detail. Many of the arabesques and enrichments are distinctly Moorish in character, resembling work at Burgos and other Spanish churches.¹

The divine
service
in the
Scottish
Church.

If we turn now from the buildings dedicated to the divine service, to the forms of worship which were in use in the Scottish Church, we shall have, of course, to distinguish clearly between the liturgies of the Celtic and the medieval periods. The Celtic Church had her own proper liturgy and ceremonial, while with the development of the diocesan system was introduced the Roman ritual, with various modifications in use among the Anglo-Saxons. Occasional reference has already

¹ See Walcott, *Ancient Church*; Billings, *Antiquities of Scotland*; Muir, *Characteristics of Old Scotch Architecture*. It is remarkable that in Scotland the character of the arch is hardly any guide to the date of the building—*e.g.*, the round arch is found at all periods. There is not, we believe, a single example of the four-centred arch, so common in England. A feature in the larger Scottish churches is the almost universal absence of the triforium. The towers, as a rule, are short and plain, and there were few lofty spires. There is a very remarkable difference of proportions in the cathedrals and monastic churches; but the peculiar merit of Scotch ecclesiastical architecture consists rather in variety of detail than in any very striking general features.—TRANSLATOR.

been made in these pages to the liturgies employed by the Scottish Church at various periods. It will be useful to give here a short abstract of their principal features.¹

I. LITURGY OF THE CELTIC CHURCH.

Celtic
Liturgy.

1. *Its Titles*.—The Liturgy, in its strictest sense *Titles*.—viz., the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass—was entitled Communio, Communio Altaris, Comna, Conviaticum, Hostia, Oblatio, Oiffrenn, Sacorfaice, Sacrificium, Sacrificale mysterium, Viaticum. The word *sacrificium* was used not only of the offering made to God, but also of the Holy Eucharist as received by the communicant.² The celebration of Mass was expressed by *Offerre*, *Sacra offerre*, *Christi corpus conficere*, *Eucharistiae celebrare mysteria*, *Sacrosancta ministeria perficere*, and similar phrases.

2. *Number of Collects*.—This appears to have *Collects*. been a distinguishing feature of the Celtic Liturgy; and it was the principal ground of a charge brought against the Rule of St Columban, by a monk named Agrestius, at the Synod of Macon in the year 623.³ St Columban's disciple and successor, Eustasius, defended the Celtic

¹ The summary that follows is taken chiefly from Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 95 seq.

² The *Book of Armagh* (fol. 12a) gives the words of St Patrick to the newly baptised daughters of Laoghaire: "Ye cannot see the face of Christ except ye receive the sacrifice."

³ Mabillon, *Annal. Ord. Benedict.*, vol. i. p. 320.

practice on the ground that all prayer is acceptable before God. It is not quite clear what Agrestius really complained of; but Benedict XIV. concludes that it was the substitution of several collects for the one usually said, in the Roman Liturgy, before the Epistle.¹

*Pater
Noster.*

3. *Pater Noster*.—This formed an essential part of the Celtic, as of every other except the Clementine Liturgy. Special care was enjoined in its recitation; and the penitentiary of Abbot Cumin of Iona prescribes severe penalties in case of any mistake.² The preceding formula, *Præceptis salutaribus moniti*, as well as the following prayer, *Libera nos quæsumus*, are not found in the Celtic Liturgy.

Lessons.

4. *Lessons*.—One of the prescriptions of Abbot Cumin, and a comparison with the Gallican and Mozarabic Liturgies, seem to show that in addition to the Epistle a lesson was usually read from the Old Testament.

Sermon.

5. *Sermon*.—This was preached after the Gospel.

Prefaces.

6. *Prefaces*.—We know from Tirechan's Annotations of the existence of a Proper Preface for the Feast of St Patrick;³ but its wording has not

¹ *De Sacr. Miss. Sacrific.*, lib. ii. cap. 5, sect. 3.

² *De Mensura Penitentiarum*, c. xiii. (Fleming, *Collect. Sacra.*, p. 209). “Si titubaverit sacerdos super orationem Dominicam, quæ dicitur periculosa, si una vice quinquaginta plagas, secunda centum, tertia superponat.”

³ Todd, *Life of St Patrick*, p. 430.

been preserved. The Stowe Missal, the earliest surviving missal of the Irish Church, dating probably from the ninth century, contains several prefaces, one of which, from the Ordinary of the Mass, is given below.¹ It bears the character of very early composition.

7. *Blessing*.—This appears to have been given ^{Blessings.} both in the oriental fashion—*i.e.*, with first, second, and fourth fingers extended; and in the Western mode—namely, with the thumb, fore and middle fingers extended. Both methods are found depicted in early illuminated manuscripts and on Celtic monuments.²

8. *Pax*.—As in the Roman Liturgy, the kiss of *Pax*. peace was given before the communion of the people,³ the priest saying these words, “Pax et

¹ “Vere dignum et justum est . . . per Christum D. N., qui cum unigenito tuo et Spiritu Sancto Deus es unus et inmortalis, Deus incorruptibilis et inmotabilis, Deus invisibilis et fidelis, Deus mirabilis et laudabilis, Deus honorabilis et fortis, Deus altissimus et magnificus, Deus vivus et verus, Deus sapiens et potens, Deus sanctus et speciosus, Deus magnus et bonus, Deus terribilis et pacificus, Deus pulcher et rectus, Deus purus et benignus, Deus beatus et justus, Deus pius et sanctus, non unius singulariter personæ sed unius Trinitatis substantiæ, te credimus, te benedicimus, te adoramus, et laudamus nomen tuum in seculum seculi, per quem salus mundi, per quem vita hominum, per quem resurrectio mortuorum,” &c.

² It is curious, and perhaps significant, that the two examples given by Warren of the Western mode of blessing are both from *Scottish* monuments (early sculptured crosses in the Western Islands).—TRANSLATOR.

³ Mr Warren, who anxiously looks out for anything bearing on his pet theory of the “Ephesine” origin of the Celtic Liturgy, finds himself constrained to remark that “this is the Roman, not the Gallican position of the *Pax*”—*Liturgy and Ritual*, p. 102.

caritas Domini, et communicatio sanctorum omnium sit semper vobiscum ;” and the people replying, “ Et cum spiritu tuo.”

Prayer for
the dead.

9. *Prayer for the Dead.*—This practice meets us from the earliest times in the monuments and Liturgy of the Celtic Church. Inscriptions have been found on memorial stones of the fifth and sixth centuries, asking for prayers for departed souls ;¹ and the same request is frequently written on the fly-leaves of the most ancient manuscripts, as, for example, in the Book of Durrow (the Gospel of St Columba), an MS. of the sixth century. So, too, Adamnan concludes his tract *De Locis Sanctis* (seventh century) by a similar petition ;² and the same may be seen in the colophon of the earliest MS. of his Life of St Columba,³ and also at the end of St John’s Gospel in the Stowe Missal already referred to. According to the old Celtic law, the clergy, in return for the tithes and first-fruits, were bound to pray and offer the Holy Sacrifice for departed souls.⁴ The commemoration of the dead, of course, occupied an important place in the Liturgy. After the offertory, the celebrant received from the deacon a diptych

¹ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th series, vol. i. p. 239, vol. v. p. 245.

² Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.*, sœc. iii. pt. ii. p. 472.

³ Ed. by Reeves, p. 242.

⁴ The monks of Iona were enjoined to display “ fervour in singing the office for the dead, as if every dead person was a particular friend of theirs.”—*Reg. S. Columbæ*, sect. 13 (Warren, p. 105).

inscribed with the names of the deceased, and announced them to the congregation. A penance is enjoined on the deacon should he forget this duty. An antiphon was then sung, known as the *deprecatio*, in which the names of the dead were enumerated, and the saints were invoked in their behalf. Adamnan relates how, after the death of Columbanus, St Columba, during the celebration of Mass, suddenly turned to the cantors, and bade them add the name of the deceased bishop to those of the saints whose intercession was invoked in the *deprecatio*. "Thus," adds the biographer, "all who were present understood that Columbanus, Bishop of Leinster, the dear friend of Columba, had passed to the Lord."¹ Two examples of the *deprecatio* or *collectio post nomina*, have been preserved in the Stowe Missal.²

10. *Prayer of Consecration*.—The text of the ^{Prayer of consecra-}consecration formula is wanting in the earliest extant Celtic Liturgies, and its absence has been explained (but on no positive grounds) as probably part of the ancient *disciplina arcani* of the Church. The Canon in the Stowe Missal is practically identical with that of the Roman Liturgy, the interpolations here and there being, it is supposed, survivals of the old Celtic rite.³

¹ Adamnan, *Vit. S. Columb.*, iii. 12.

² Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual*, pp. 229 seq.

³ Warren's conjecture that the prayer of consecration was said aloud is hardly borne out by his citation from Adamnan—"Quem-dam audiens presbyterum sacra eucharistæ mysteria confictem,"

Hymns at
Communion.

11. *Communion Hymns*.—These were sung in the Celtic Church during the communion of the clergy and people. One, commencing *Sancti venite, Christi corpus sumite*, has been preserved in the Antiphonary of Banchor,¹ and another in the Stowe Missal.² Warren supposes, but on no particular evidence, that the canticle *Benedicite* was also sung in the course of the Mass, as it was in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites.

The “ex-
tended
hands” of
the priest.

12. Gildas, in one of his epistles, speaks of British priests “extending their hands over the holy sacrifice,”³ obviously referring to the action of the celebrant at the prayer *Hanc igitur oblationem*, immediately before the consecration. Warren, we cannot but think wrongly, identifies the expression of Gildas with the *extensis manibus* prescribed by the Sarum and Roman rites for the priest while saying or singing the prayers. Gildas’s words, taken in this sense, entirely lose their special significance.

Liturgical
ornaments.

13. *Liturgical Ornaments*.—Besides the alb and chasuble, which is represented in the full circular form of primitive times in the Book of Deer,⁴ and on sculptured figures on the very

(i.e., saying Mass). The common expression “hearing Mass” does not, of course, imply that all the prayers are said audibly.—TRANSLATOR.

¹ Muratori, *Anecdota*, vol. iv. p. 132. *Liber Hymnorum*, pt. i. p. 43.

² *Liturgy and Ritual*, p. 243. It begins, “Gustate et videte.”

³ Epist., § 67. “Manus sacrosanctis Christi sacrificiis extensuri.”

⁴ Pp. 3, 16, 27, 38.

ancient Kirriemuir stones, the bishops also wore the *rational*, or ornament on the breast, adopted from the Jewish priesthood,¹ the ring, pectoral cross, and pastoral staff, which was short and rounded at the top.² Instead of mitres they wore crowns or circlets of gold.³ The ritual use of the comb was common both to priests and bishops.⁴ The liturgical colours were not definitely fixed until later times, but distinct mention is made of white and purple.⁵

14. *Concelebration*.—The custom of two or more priests uniting in the act of consecration is one quite peculiar to the Celtic rite. To celebrate alone was the special privilege of bishops or priests particularly eminent in some way. Adamnan tells us of a bishop at Iona who concealed his rank, but was discovered by St Columba as he was beginning to celebrate with another priest. “Christ bless thee,” said the saint; “break bread

Concelebration.

¹ Curiously enough, the rational, after disappearing in Anglo-Saxon times, is found among the ornaments of Anglo-Norman bishops, and was worn until the fourteenth century.—Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, vol. i. p. 369.

² There is a plate of the *Bachalmore*, or great staff of St Moluag (now in the possession of the Duke of Argyll), in the *Origin. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii. p. 163. It is only 2 feet 10 inches in length.

³ These were also worn in Anglo-Saxon times until the tenth century.

⁴ The Viviers ritual (A.D. 1360) prescribes the combing of the celebrant's hair by the deacon several times during the Mass. The Celtic tonsure, of course, left the hair long and flowing behind.—TRANSLATOR.

⁵ See Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual*, pp. 123-125.

alone, after the episcopal manner, now we know that thou art a bishop. Wherefore didst thou up till now try to hide thyself, that we should not render thee due honour?"¹ The Celtic use was precisely opposite to that once generally prevalent in the Western Church, but now limited to the mass of newly ordained priests, according to which the clergy united with the bishop in the act of consecration. This practice appears to have been followed at Chartres, at least on Maunday Thursday, as late as the fifteenth century.²

Oblations. 15. *Oblations and Offertory.*—As in other ancient Liturgies, we find the practice in the Celtic Church of offering bread and wine for the Eucharist, and also money, jewels, and other valuable articles. St Patrick tells in his Confession how the Irish women brought precious offerings to the altar, and how he returned them lest the unbelieving might seem to have cause of scandal against him.³ During the offering of the gifts a hymn was sung by the choir. There is an interesting notice in the *Leabhar Breac* of the ritual used in pouring the water into the chalice. This is "probably a genuine survival of the ancient Celtic Liturgy."⁴

¹ Adamnan, *Vita S. Columbae*, i. 44.

² De Molem, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 231. Cited by Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

³ Patricii, *Confessio*, c. xxi.

⁴ Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual*, p. 131. Three drops of water were poured in, with the words "Peto te, pater; deprecor te, fili;

16. *Communion under both kinds.*—That this was the custom in the Celtic Church is clear from a passage in the Rule of St Columbanus, which enjoins a penalty for any injury done to the chalice by the teeth.¹ There can, however, be no doubt that the Eucharist was also administered solely under the species of bread. The directions of the Rule already mentioned respecting the administration of the sacrament to the sick, render it highly improbable that it was intended to be in both kinds. The rubric in the Book of Deer² runs—“Here give to him the sacrifice;” and the words of administration seem to preclude the idea of communion being given in both kinds. The Order for the Visitation of the Sick in the Stowe Missal confirms this opinion.³ To Catholics, of course, whose faith assures them that under the species of bread is contained the Body of Christ,

obsecro te, Spiritus Sanctus;” then three drops of wine, the priest saying, “Mittet pater, indulgeat filius, miseretur Spiritus Sanctus.”

¹ *Reg. Cœnob.*, cap. iv. “Similiter qui pertuderit dentibus calicem salutaris, sex percussionibus.”

² P. 90—“Hisund dubeir sacorfaice dau.” In the Book of Dimma it runs—“Das ei eucharistiam.”

³ Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual*, pp. 223-225—“Accepto salutari divini corporis cibo salutari nostro.” We see from Tertullian (*Ad uxor*, ii. 5) that communion in one kind only was given, at least in private houses, in very early times. While admitting the fact that communion in both kinds was the rule in the Celtic Church, we may nevertheless observe that the expressions used by early saints and others, which Warren remarks would have no force “in a Church where communion in one kind only was the rule,” are, as a matter of fact, the very phrases constantly used by Catholics in speaking of Holy Communion.—TRANSLATOR.

together with His Blood, and under the species of wine the Blood of Christ united to His sacred Body, this oft-discussed question resolves itself to a mere matter of discipline, which the Church in recent centuries has seen good and sufficient reason to change.

Communion
of
infants,

17. *Communion of Infants*.—Some trace of this is found in the Stowe Missal, which places the office of administering communion immediately after that of baptism.¹ The latter rite included the washing of the feet.² An Irish *Ordo Baptismi* of the twelfth century orders the newly baptised infant to be confirmed, if a bishop be present.³

and of
women.

18. *Communion of Women*.—Abbot Cumin, in his penitential, orders that “ women shall receive the Holy Communion under a dark veil.”⁴ Most of the early Celtic institutions prohibit women from approaching the altar.⁵

Eulogia.

19. *Eulogia*.—The custom of distributing blessed bread to the congregation at the conclusion of the Liturgy was observed in the Celtic as in other early Churches. Adamnan mentions that in St Kenneth’s monastery at Aghaboe, in Ireland, there was a table in the refectory at

¹ Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual*, p. 223.

² *Ibid.*, p. 217.

³ *Corpus Missal*, p. 203.

⁴ *De Mensura Pœnit.*, cap. xiv. The abbot refers to St Basil as his authority for this custom. “ Basilius hoc judicavit.”

⁵ See Warren, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 138.

which the *Eulogiae* were distributed.¹ The same practice was observed at Iona; and at Lindisfarne, Bede tells us that it took place at the third hour after Mass.²

20. *Days of Celebration*.—It would appear from Adamnan's Biography that the celebration of the holy sacrifice was limited to Sundays and festivals, and such other days as were appointed by the superior of the monastery. S. Columba is twice spoken of as celebrating on Sunday “according to custom.”³ Cumin seems to defend this restricted number of celebrations by referring to the practice of the Greeks.⁴ With regard to saints'-days, we find St Columba giving express orders for a celebration in commemoration of St Brendan, and again for St Columban.⁵

Unfortunately no specimen is known to exist of the sacred altar-vessels used in the Celtic Church. A chalice of gold, supposed to be almost coeval with St Columba himself, was preserved until recent times, but has unfortunately been lost.⁶

21. *Confession*.—We have abundant evidence of the practice of confession in the Celtic Church. The confessor was known as the *anmcara* or soul's

Days of
celebra-
tion.

Altar-
vessels.

¹ *Vit. S. Columbae*, ii. c. 12.

² Bede, *Vit. S. Cuthberti*, c. ix.

³ “Die Dominica ex more.”—*Vita*, iii. c. 18. Cf. c. 24.

⁴ *De Mensura Pœnit.*, cap. xiv.

⁵ Adamnan, *Vit. S. Columbae*, iii. 11, 12.

⁶ Wilson, *Archæology of Scotland*, pp. 668, 669.

friend. We may remark that the three points dwelt upon by Warren¹—(1) that confession was public rather than private, (2) that it was optional rather than compulsory, and (3) that it was not the custom to pronounce absolution until the penance assigned had been fulfilled—point apparently to some confusion in the mind of the writer between private confession and the public penance enjoined and practised in the early centuries of the Church. We need hardly say that the penances assigned by the canons to various crimes refer solely to the public expiation then required of delinquents, and have no connection whatever with private or sacramental confession.²

Harmony
of the
Celtic with
other
Western
liturgies.

A few points of minor importance excepted, the liturgy of the Celtic Church may be said to have been in perfect harmony with the other early liturgies of the West. In view of this undoubted fact, the elaborate attempts of various Anglican writers to trace back her rites and customs to oriental sources must be considered as futile. The object aimed at by the upholders of this theory has been of course to prove, if possible, the existence of a Church in these islands independent of the Roman see. There are, we need hardly say, no solid historical grounds for such a conclusion, although it would be wrong to deny that the influence of Rome was not at that time,

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 148-150.

² Schmitz, *Bussbücher und Bussdisciplin*, pp. 176-295, &c.

for reasons easily understood, able to make itself felt in the remote Celtic Church equally with other parts of Western Christendom. Much has been done to dispel the partial and erroneous views long and widely held on this subject by the able and patient researches of such writers as Skene, Haddan, and Stubbs. "We find it," says Skene, speaking of the early Celtic Church,¹ "in close connection with the Gallican Church, and regarding the Patriarch of Rome as the head of the Western Church and the source of ecclesiastical authority and mission; and with the exception of the temporary prevalence of the Pelagian heresy in Britain, we can discover no trace of any divergence between them in doctrine or practice." So also the labours of the joint authors of the *Councils relating to Great Britain and Ireland* have made abundantly manifest, as they themselves claim, "the groundlessness of the so often alleged 'orientalism' of the early British Church,—oriental in no other sense than that its Christianity originated, like all Christianity, in Asia, and found its way to Britain through (most probably) Lyons, . . . but without imprinting one single trace upon the British Church itself of any one thing in a peculiar sense Greek or oriental."²

¹ *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 6.

² Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, pref., p. xviii. Messrs Haddan and Stubbs's own theory of the thoroughly Greek character of the early Roman Church is almost as remarkable, and we may add, as chimerical, as the orientalist view, which they rightly condemn. It would

Medieval
Scottish
Liturgy.

II. MEDIEVAL LITURGY OF SCOTLAND.

We have seen in the course of this History how, early in the twelfth century, Scotland came under the influence of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and how the Use of Salisbury in particular was introduced into many of the newly erected Scottish dioceses. The rite in question prevailed in great part of Scotland up to the period of the Reformation, and it will be of interest to glance briefly at the points in which it differed from that of Rome and other contemporary liturgies.

Variations
in the Uses
of Sarum,
York, &c.

Maskell, in his interesting work on the *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, has given, in a tabular form, the variations in the several Uses of Sarum, York, Bangor, Hereford, and Rome.

Variations
in the Eng-
lish Uses.

The following are the most remarkable peculiarities of the different English Rites :—

After the psalm *Judica*, follow in all the English Uses the *Kyrie eleison*, *Pater noster*, and (at York and Hereford only) certain other prayers.¹ At Sarum and Bangor the kiss of peace was given

be interesting to know how the present Bishop of Chester reconciles the Greek theory with the fact (among others) that St Linus, the second Pope, was a native of Tuscany ; St Cletus, the third, a Roman citizen ; and the fourth, St Clement, of Jewish family. It is in the same spirit that these generally impartial writers take upon themselves to “sweep away fictitious personages like King Lucius,” in order to abolish the first papal mission to Britain from Pope Eleutherius. As has been recently remarked by a critic (*Tablet*, April 1887), King Lucius is no more to be swept away in this fashion than the Atlantic by Mrs Partington’s broom.—TRANSLATOR.

¹ Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy*, p. 8.

before ascending to the altar, while the Hereford adds the prayer, *Sancta Dei Genetrix virgo semper Maria, intercede pro nobis.*¹ The Epistle according to Sarum and Bangor was read from a pulpit or ambo ;² while the latter rite has a special and solemn ceremony for bringing the corporal to the altar.³ The English Uses omitted the blessing of the water and the prayer at the oblation of the chalice, as well as the two following prayers—*In spiritu humilitatis* and *Veni sanctificator.* The York and Hereford, however, prescribe the hymn *Veni Creator* after the washing of hands.⁴ The Sarum, Bangor, and York Uses add the words *et sorores* to the *Orate fratres;* and the answer differs from the Roman *Suscipiat Dominus.*⁵

As regards the Canon of the Mass, the variations are very slight and unimportant, and the words of consecration are identical in all the uses. Sarum has a long rubric at the Memento for the living, directing whom the priest is to pray for at that time.⁶ At the prayer *Supplices te rogamus,* the rubric of Hereford is *cancellatis manibus in modum crucis,* the last three words being omitted in the other rites.⁷ Various prayers are prescribed before the Communion, one commencing *Deus*

¹ Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy*, p. 14.

² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁶ *Sarum Missal* (ed. Dickenson), p. 613.

⁷ Maskell, p. 101.

Pater, fons et origo totius bonitatis, and another *Te adoro, te glorifico*.¹ No blessing was given by the priest at the end of Mass. The Episcopal benediction (for which there were various formulas) was given by the bishop before the *Agnus Dei*.²

The Ar-
buthnott
Missal.

The solitary missal of the Scottish Church which has come down to us from pre-Reformation times was edited by Dr Forbes, the Anglican Bishop of Brechin, in 1864. It was the missal used in the parish church of Arbuthnott, in the diocese of St Andrews, dedicated to St Ternan. It is a manuscript, in the original binding, and was written at the cost of Robert Arbuthnott, who died in 1506. The death of the writer, James Sibbald, vicar of Arbuthnott, occurred in the following year, as is recorded on a blank space in the Calendar prefixed to the volume.³ The Arbuthnott Missal is, as Father Innes remarked, simply a Sarum missal, with a few offices added, chiefly those of national saints.⁴ Dr Forbes points out as noteworthy that it contains no mass of St Margaret; that no special importance, "as implied by illuminative decoration," is given to other Scot-

¹ Maskell, p. 118.

² *Ibid.*, p. 110. Cf. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, passim*.

³ "Nota obitum Domini Jacoby Sibbald quondam Vicarii de Arbuthnott scribæ publici satis correcti, testantibus Missalibus hujus Ecclesiae sancti Terrenani. . . . Oremus omnes una pro eo."

⁴ *Spalding Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 364.

tish feasts ; and that, on the other hand, proper sequences, which are not found in any of the English missals, are assigned to SS. Winifred, Bridget, and the Eleven Thousand Virgins. It is curious, also, that the Feasts of SS. Dominic and Francis, which do not occur in the Sarum, are given in this missal ; possibly a sign, the learned editor conjectures, that the Mendicant Orders had influenced the Church of Scotland more than that of England.¹ The mass for the Holy Name of Jesus, the office for which was first printed in Scotland by Bishop Elphinstone in the Aberdeen Breviary, appears to have been added to the Arbuthnott Missal as an afterthought. It is written before the Calendar of the Saints, no special day being assigned to it. A metrical prayer for Robert Arbuthnott and James Sibbald is inserted after the Prefaces.²

The Breviary compiled by Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen, and published by him at Edinburgh in 1510, was reprinted in facsimile in 1854. Only four copies of the original edition are known to exist. The work, which is in two volumes, differs little in general arrangement from the Roman Breviary. It contains, in addition to the various offices for the year, forms of absolution from the

¹ *Arbuthnott Missal*, Preface, pp. lxvi, lxvii. The special predilection of Alexander II. for the Dominican Order will be remembered, as well as the tradition of his friendship with its saintly founder. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 357.

² *Arbuthnott Missal*, p. 158.

greater and lesser excommunication, and a number of benedictions intended to be used at matins. After compline are inserted the litanies of the saints, which include many local and national names.¹ The proper of saints follows immediately after the proper of the season. It is noticeable that from Easter until Pentecost only one nocturn is prescribed to be said at matins, even on Sundays and festivals.² The same rite is followed in the liturgy now in use at Cologne. The Aberdeen Breviary distinguishes between double feasts of nine and of three lessons.³

Kalendars
of the
Scottish
Saints.

The learned editor of the Arbuthnott Missal has earned the gratitude of Scottish Catholics by his publication of another valuable work—the collected Kalendars of the Scottish Saints, with valuable notes on their personal history, and the localities with which they were chiefly connected. The volume contains the Kalendars of the Drummond and Arbuthnott Missals, of Herdmanston, Ferne, and Culross, that of the Aberdeen Breviary, and one entitled *Kalendarium quoddam Celticum*.⁴ It also includes the Martyrology of Aberdeen,⁵ the Kalendar of Adam King,⁶ the

¹ *Brev. Aberdon.*, fol. lxxviii.

² *Ibid., Pars Hyem.*, fols. cxvi-cxliv.

³ Cf. *Kalendarium*, iv. Kal. August (in festo *S. Annæ*).

⁴ *Advoc. Libr.* It is bound up with a medical treatise.

⁵ *Martyrologium secundum Usum Eccles. Aberdon.* This probably belonged to Elgin Cathedral.

⁶ Prefixed to his translation of the Catechism of Canisius. Paris 1588.

Menology of Dempster,¹ and the Kalendar of the Protestant Anglican Church in Scotland at the time of Charles I. An inspection of these various Kalendars bears witness to the “complete Anglicanisation of the Scottish Church which took place after the epoch of St Margaret.”² That of Culross (founded, or rather re-founded, for the Cistercians in 1217)³ contains very few of the Celtic saints among its entries. They were not, however, entirely forgotten, and from the time of the War of Independence we find them gradually regaining their hold upon the Scottish Church.⁴ At the time of the publication of the Breviary of Aberdeen the cultus of a large number of national saints was firmly established in the country ; and others, whose names had wellnigh died out of remembrance, were recovered to the memories and devotion of the people by the learned labours of good Bishop Elphinstone.⁵

We cannot do better than close our records of

¹ *Menologium Scotorum*, edidit Thomas Dempsterus Baro de Muresk. Bononiæ, 1622.

² Forbes, *Kalendars*. Preface, p. xxi.

³ See *ante*, vol. i. p. 356.

⁴ As a proof of this, it may be mentioned that in the Kalendar of an MS. Breviary of the fifteenth century, belonging to the Marquess of Bute, some twenty native saints are recorded beyond those found in the Kalendar of Culross.—TRANSLATOR.

⁵ The Breviary now in use among the Scottish secular clergy is the ordinary Roman Breviary. A committee has, however, been for some time engaged in the compilation of the proper offices of the Scottish saints ; and the sanction of the Holy See will, it is hoped, be shortly obtained for the adoption of these in every diocese of Scotland.—TRANSLATOR.

the medieval Church of Scotland by quoting the eloquent words of a writer whose impartial pen has borne frequent testimony to her beneficent influence. “ In examining the foundations of that mighty power,” observes Mr Cosmo Innes,¹ “ it may be allowed to lay aside for the time questions of doctrine. We may be permitted to view the ancient Church as an artist with a task proposed ; to examine the materials in her power, and the skill with which she used them. We shall then find much to admire, something perhaps to imitate. We are astonished at her adaptation of herself to all circumstances, and patient bending of all things to her purpose. However politicians dispute, we cannot regard without sympathy her care of the poor, and the ceaseless charity which she inculcated for the benefit of the giver as well as of the receiver. Not less worthy of our attention is her avowed and consistent principle of inspiring piety by an appeal to the imagination and the heart. Subservient to that end was the munificence directed—*ad amplian-dum cultum divinum—ad decorum domus Dei*—to make more glorious the service and the fabric of the Church, not as a mere place of popular instruction, or a convenient meeting-house for devotion, but regarded by the old Catholic, as by the Jews of old, as the temple and very shrine of a present Deity, where innumerable altars were

¹ *Reg. Epis. Aberdon.*, Preface, pp. lxxxii, lxxxiii.

offering up the ever-renewed sacrifice of propitiation. The effect of such means for the object proposed—to produce strong faith, unhesitating obedience ; the success of the great plan of the ancient Church, and its whole influence on society,—are subjects of reflection not to be slighted by the most philosophical, nor rejected by those most opposed to the Roman Catholic doctrines, with the same ends in view.”

A P P E N D I X.

I. (p. 154).

INSTRUCTIONS TO LATINO JUVENALE, PAPAL NUNCIO
TO SCOTLAND IN 1538.

(*Cod. Vatic. Urbin.* 865, pp. 156-159.)

Capi dell' instruttione per Scotia al Sgr. Latino Juvenale alli
24 di Dicembre 1538.

In primis visitare il Rè et la Regina et benedirle et darli a
grado la promotione del nuovo Cardinale Mirapicione,¹ rac-
com^{to} desiderato da S. M^{ta} con tanta instantia, et dopo dare a
esso Car^{le}. la beretta e capello nel modo e con le ceremonie
che si usano. Appresso parlare con la debita caldezza e
maniera della causa pubblica d' Inghilterra per la quale prin-
cipalmente siete mandato, monstrando quanto sia a cuore à
S. S^{ta} e quanto come a buono Padre et Pontefice ch' è doglia
vedere la tota ruina d' un così fatto Regno, e quanto si senta
stomacchato dall' impietà et opera che ha fatta e di continuo
fa con gli altri Principi christiani per la ridutitione et sanità
di detto Regno, dechiarandole la buona inspiratione che li
detti Principi mostrano d' haver havuta da Dio, d' adoperarsi
etiam per ogni via per la detta ridutitione, e non senza dar
l' intentione di lasciar non solo publicar la Bolla che portate

¹ Cardinal Beaton, Bishop of Mirepoix, and afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews.

et levare ogni commercio de lor popoli, ma etiam ogni prattica et intelligenza delle M. M^{ta}. loro particolari e passar più oltre. Dal che mossa sua B^{ne}. et da quel più che se la appartiene per il debito dell' officio suo, ha fatta spedire la detta Bolla, per la pubblicazione della quale nel Regno di Scozia havete a far l' instantia che sapete esortando la Maestà Sua a continuar di tener netto e ben purgato il Regno suo da così diabolica contagione. Allargandosi con quelle parole che all' eloquentia e prud^{tia}. vostra soccorreranno, che Sua S^{ta}. u' ha detto amplamente.

II. (p. 184).

LIST OF COLLEGIATE CHURCHES AND HOSPITALS.¹

A.—COLLEGIATE CHURCHES (classified according to the dioceses).

Diocese of St Andrews.

1. Crail, founded by Sir William Myreton in 1517, for a provost, sacristan; and ten prebendaries.
2. Foulis, or Fidolis, in the valley of the Tay, near Dundee, founded about 1446 by Sir Andrew Gray, for a provost and prebendaries.
3. Methven, near Perth, founded in 1439 by Walter Stewart, Earl of Atholl, for a provost and five prebendaries.
4. Tullibardine, in Perthshire, founded in 1446 by Sir David Murray, for a provost and prebendaries.
5. St Andrews : St Mary's (Kirkheugh), the original Culdee establishment of the eighth century, became a collegiate church *temp. Alexander II. (1214-1249)*, with a provost and ten prebendaries.
6. St Andrews : St Saviour's, founded in 1458 by Bishop Kennedy, and enlarged in 1496 by Archbishop Sheves. St Leonard's College was founded in 1512 by Prior Hepburn and Archbishop Stuart.

Archdeaconry of Lothian, afterwards the Anglican Diocese of Edinburgh.

7. Corstorphine, founded by Forrester, Chamberlain of Scotland, for a provost and eight prebendaries.

¹ See Walcott, *Ancient Church of Scotland*, pp. 355-375, 384-391; Keith, *Scottish Bishops*, chaps. xix., xx.

8. Creighton, founded by Lord Chancellor Creighton, for a provost and eight prebendaries.

9. Dalkeith, founded by the Earl of Morton, for a provost and six prebendaries.

10. Dirleton Gulane, founded by Sir Walter de Haliburton.

11. Dunglas, in Haddington, founded by Sir Alexander Hume.

12. Dunbar, founded in 1342 by Patrick, Earl of March, for a dean, arch-priest, and prebendaries. This was the first collegiate foundation in Scotland.

13. Edinburgh : Holy Trinity, founded by Mary of Gueldres, widow of James II., for a provost, eight prebendaries, two clerks, and thirteen almsmen.¹

14. Edinburgh : St Giles, the original parish church of Edinburgh, refounded as a collegiate church in the fifteenth century.

15. Edinburgh : St Mary's Kirk of Field, founded for a provost and ten prebendaries, with an hospital for bedesmen.

16. Linlithgow, containing twelve stalls erected by James V., who made this church the chapel of the Knights of the Thistle.

17. Restalrig, founded in 1512 by James V., for a dean, six prebendaries, and three chaplains, and containing the much-venerated shrine of St Triduana.

18. Roslin, founded by William, Earl of Orkney, for a provost, six prebendaries, a vicar-pensioner, and two choristers. We have already spoken of the sumptuous chapel.

19. Seton, founded by Lord Seton in 1493, and enlarged by Jane, wife of the third lord.

20. Stirling : the Chapel-Royal, founded by James IV., and constituted by Pope Alexander VI., for a dean and other officials and sixteen chaplains.

21. Yester, founded by Sir William de Haye, for a provost and prebendaries, about 1418.

Diocese of Aberdeen.

22. Old Aberdeen : King's College, founded in 1505 by Bishop Elphinstone, for eight prebendaries, a chanter, sacristan, organist, and six choristers.

23. New Aberdeen : St Nicholas, founded in 1441 by Bishop Law, for a vicar, a curate, and twenty-two chaplains, reduced in 1519 to sixteen. The church possessed thirty altars, one of which was dedicated to the Three Kings of Cologne.

24. Cullen, originally founded by King Robert I., established as a

¹ The beautiful church was ruthlessly destroyed in 1845 to make room for a railway.—TRANSLATOR.

collegiate church in 1543 by Alexander Ogilvie, for a provost, six prebendaries, and two choristers.

25. Kinnethmont, or Killymont.

Diocese of Argyle.

26. Kilmund, on the Holy Loch, founded in 1442 by Sir Duncan Campbell, for a provost and six prebendaries. The church was built on the spot where a vessel, laden with earth from Palestine for the building of Glasgow Cathedral, was stranded, and cast out part of her freight.

Diocese of Brechin.

27. Guthrie, in Forfarshire, founded by David Guthrie, Lord Treasurer, in 1479, for a provost and five prebendaries.

Diocese of Galloway.

28. Lincluden, formerly a Benedictine convent, refounded in the reign of Robert III. by the Earl of Douglas, for a provost, twelve canons, and twenty-four bedesmen.

Diocese of Glasgow.

29. Biggar, founded by Malcolm, Lord Fleming, in 1545, for a provost and eight prebendaries.

30. Carnewath, founded by Sir Thomas Somerville in 1424.

31. Dumbarton, founded by Isabel, Countess of Lennox, in 1450.

32. Glasgow : SS. Mary and Anne's, founded in 1528 by Houston, rector of the University, for a provost and eight canons. The church was known as the Laigh Church, as distinguished from the Cathedral or High Church.

33. Hamilton, founded by Sir James Hamilton in 1462.

34. Kilmaurs, in Ayrshire, founded in 1403 by Sir William Cunningham, for a provost and eight prebendaries.

35. Kilwynning, in Argyleshire, founded in 1443 by Donald Campbell (afterwards second Earl of Argyll).

36. Maybole, or Minnibole, founded in 1441 by Sir Gilbert Kennedy, for a provost and three prebendaries.

37. Peebles, founded in 1542 by the magistrates and Lord Hay.

38. Sempill, in Renfrewshire, founded by Lord Semple in 1505, for a provost and six chaplains, besides various officials, including a "sacrist to adorn the church with leaves and flowers."

Diocese of Moray.

39. Abernethy, founded about 1460 by George, Earl of Angus.

Diocese of Ross.

40. Tain, founded by Thomas, Bishop of Ross, in 1481, for a provost and eleven prebendaries.

B.—HOSPITALS (in alphabetical order).

Aberdeen : St Anne (lepers), St Thomas the Martyr, St Peter, and a fourth hospital founded in 1538 by Bishop Gavin Dunbar.

Aberdour, SS. Mary and Peter.

Aldneston (lepers), under Melrose Abbey.

Arbroath, St John Baptist.

Ardross.

Balgamies, in Forfarshire.

Bancrieff, near Edinburgh, St Cuthbert.

Banff, for eight aged women.

Berwick, Maison Dieu.

Cambuslang.

Cavers, in Roxburghshire.

Crailing.

Dalkeith, for six poor men.

Dumbarton.

Dunse.

Edinburgh : St Mary Magdalens, in the Cowgate ; St Leonard's, at the foot of Salisbury Crags ; St Mary's, in Leith Wynd, for twelve almsmen ; St Thomas's, near the Watergate, for seven almsmen in red gowns ; and Ballantyne's Hospital, between Edinburgh and Dalkeith (founded by Ballantyne, Abbot of Holyrood).

Ednam, near Kelso, St Leonard.

Elgin, Maison Dieu, on the west side of the city.

Fairnington, founded by Robert Blackader.

Glasgow : St Nicholas, for twelve bedesmen. The Paisley chartulary mentions the foundation of a bed here by Michael Fleming. St Ninian, by Glasgow Bridge (for lepers).

Gosford.

Govan, St Ninian (for lepers).

Haddington : St Mary, St Laurence.

Hamilton, St Mary of Bethlehem.

Hassendean, for pilgrims.

Hermisden, St John Baptist.

Holywood, in Galloway, founded by Edward, brother of Robert I.

Horndene, St Leonard, founded by Robert Biset.

- Hotun, in Berwickshire.
Houston, Holy Trinity.
How, on the river Annan.
Jedburgh, Maison Dieu, for pilgrims.
Kingcase, near Ayr ; St Ninian (for lepers).
Kincardine-O'Neil, in Aberdeenshire.
Kingussie, a mile from Ayr.
Lanark, St Leonard.
Lauder, near Peebles, St Leonard.
Leith, St Nicholas.
Lerwick, in Shetland (for lepers).
Lesvarde, St Mary of Consolation.
Liberton, or Leper-toun, St Catherine.
Ligerswood, in Berwickshire, St Mary Magdalen.
Linlithgow, St Mary Magdalen, founded by James I.
Maxwell, St Michael.
Mount Teviott, in Roxburghshire.
Nesbit, near Crailing, in Roxburghshire.
Newburgh, founded by Alexander, Earl of Buchan.
Old Cambus (for lepers).
Papastour, in Shetland (for lepers).
Peebles, SS. Laurence and Leonard.
Perth, St Leonard.
Polmadie, St John.
Portincrag.
Rothean, founded by John Bisset about 1226.
Roxburgh, St Mary Magdalen, founded by David I.
Rutherford, St Mary Magdalen.
St Germain's, near Seton, in East Lothian.
Sanquhar.
Shotts, St Catherine of Sienna, founded by Lord Hamilton.
Smalholme, in Roxburghshire.
Soltre, Holy Trinity, founded by Malcolm IV., for pilgrims, &c. It had
the privilege of sanctuary.
Spey, St Nicholas, founded by Muriel de Pollock.
Stirling : St James (for lepers) ; also an asylum for decayed merchants,
founded by Robert Spital, tailor to James IV.
Sugden, in Perthshire, St Augustine.
Torrens, St Leonard.
Traillow, in Annandale.
Trefontanis.
Turrieff, in Aberdeenshire, founded by Alexander, Earl of Buchan.
Upsetlington, St Leonard.

III. (p. 197).

ERECTION OF THE CHAPTER OF KIRKWALL, A.D. 1544.

The following account of the last cathedral foundation in Scotland, only a few years before the suppression of the Catholic religion, will be read with interest.

Bishop Reid erected seven dignities, the first being a provost or dean, to whom, under the bishop, was to appertain the correction and supervision of the canons, prebendaries, and chaplains; (2) an archdeacon, who was to govern the people in accordance with the canon law; (3) a precentor, who was "to rule the singers in the choir in the elevation or depression of their songs;" (4) a chancellor, who was to be learned in canon and civil law, and whose duty was to lecture publicly in chapter to all those bound to attend, to preserve in good repair the choir-books and registers, and to keep the common seal and key of the library; (5) a treasurer, who was to have charge of the treasures of the church and the sacred vestments, and to have care also of the bread, wine, wax, oil, and lights for the church; (6) a sub-dean, to supply the place of the provost in his absence; and (7) a sub-chanter, who was to play the organ on Sundays and festivals, and when necessary to take the place of the precentor.

The Bishop likewise erected seven prebendaries, as follows: (1) the prebendary of Holy Cross, who was to have charge of the holy things, under the treasurer, to see to the clock and the ringing of the bells at proper times, and to care that the church was properly swept; (2) the prebendary of St Mary, who was to have care of the roofs and windows of the cathedral, and to keep them in due repair; (3) the prebendary of St Magnus, who was to be confessor to the bishop, provost, canons, chaplains, and their households, at Easter-time, and to administer the Holy Eucharist to them. The remaining four prebendaries were to have respectively the chaplaincies of St

John and St Lawrence (in the cathedral) and the prebends of St Katharine and St Duthas.

Thirteen chaplains were erected at the same time. To the first was assigned the chaplaincy of St Peter and the mastership of the grammar-school; to the second the chaplaincy of St Augustine and the care of the singing-school. The third was to be *Stallarius*, or bishop's chorister; the fourth, the provost's chorister; the fifth, the archdeacon's; the sixth, the precentor's; the seventh, the chancellor's; the eighth, the treasurer's; the ninth, the subdeans; and the remaining four, of the prebendaries of Holy Cross, St Mary's, St Catherine's, and the chaplain of Holy Cross respectively.

A sacristan was also appointed, to ring the bells, light the lamps, carry fire and water into the church, and "go before the processions with a white rod, after the manner of a beadle." Finally, there were to be six boys, who were to carry tapers, and to sing the verses and responsories in the choir, as ordered by the chanter.¹

IV. (p. 217).

SPECIMEN OF THE CATECHISM OF ARCHBISHOP HAMILTON, fol. clxxv. (INSTRUCTIONS ON THE LORD'S PRAYER).

In the thre last petitious we desyre at God to delivir us fra all evil. First, fra synne, and eternal dede quhilk is the reward of synne, sayand: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.* Forgive us our dettis and trespassis, as we forgive to yame yat trespassis aganis us. Secundly, fra paynis spiritual, quhilk is to be ovircum in tentatioun, sayand: *Et ne nos inducas in temptationem.* Leid us nocht into tentatioun. Last of all, we desyre God to delivir us fra paynis temporal, sayand: *Sed libera nos a malo.* Bot

¹ Wallace, *Orkney*, pp. 85, 87; *Hist. of Beauly Priory*, pp. 318, 319.

delivir us fra evil. *Amen.* That so be it we pray the. Breifly, this prayar of our Lord is sa profound, sa abundant, and sa plenteous in sentence, that thair is na prayer maid be man, quhidder it be writtin in the auld testament or the new, bot the soume and the effect of that prayer is contenit and askit in ane of yir sevin petitouns. Quhairfor, O Christin man and woman, say thi *Pater noster* to God oft tymes, distinctlie and devoutly, and dout nocht bot quhen yow sais yis prayer, in effect yow sais all gud prayeris. Nochttheless all uthir prayeris set out at mair lenth to the same effect is comendabil and lovabil, as declaratioun of the same.

V. (p. 248).

ARTICLES OF THE FAITH, AS LAID DOWN IN THE
PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF 1559.

1. *Of the Traditions of the Church.*—We must hold with firm faith not only what is told to us expressly and plainly by the Scriptures, but also whatever the Holy Catholic Church, or a General Council, lawfully convoked, has bidden to be believed, or defines and determines; and similarly, whatever she has ordered to be observed, pertaining to a good rule of life, ought to be observed: and it is heretical obstinately to maintain the contrary.

Appendix.—The traditions and ordinances of the Church, such as those touching fasting, abstinence, and the due celebration of festivals, &c., oblige Christians, both publicly and privately, to their observance.

2. *Of the Veneration and Invocation of Saints.*—It is rightly done in the Church that we venerate the saints living with Christ in heaven, and call on them to pray for us; since by their prayers and intercession, Christ bestows many gifts upon us, and works through them many miracles upon earth.

3. *Of the Proper Use of Images.*—The images of Christ and the saints are lawful, for the representations and likeness of the same; and they ought to be reverently treated, without slighting or derision.

4. *Of a Purgatory after this Life.*—It is to be firmly believed that after this life there is a Purgatory for souls, in which is undergone the punishment still due for sin; and that such souls are helped by the good works of the living, so as to obtain more speedy release.

5. *Of the Existence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.*—In the sacrament of the Eucharist is truly the very body of our Lord Jesus Christ—that is, His true flesh and true blood, yea, the whole Christ, God and man; wherefore we rightly adore in the same, not bread, nor wine, nor those appearances which meet our bodily eyes, but our Lord Jesus Christ crucified for us, and this whether in the Mass or out of it, wheresoever the Eucharist is exposed, or as often as it is carried by the priest in public procession.

6. *Of the Communion of the Laity under one kind only.*—Communion under both kinds is not necessary to salvation for the laity; but according to the lawful permission of the Church, it suffices to receive the sacrament under one kind only—namely, that of bread, seeing that in this sacrament it is to be believed that under one kind only is received the Body and the Blood, and therefore the whole Christ.

7. *Of the Profit of the Mass.*—The sacrifice of the Mass, instituted in remembrance of the Passion of Christ, is profitable by virtue of the same Passion both to living and to dead.

8. *Of the Lawful Minister of the Sacrament of the Eucharist.*—Only to a priest of the new law, lawfully ordained according to the rite of the Church, has been granted the power of blessing, consecrating, or administering the sacrament of the Eucharist.

VI. (p. 358).

FORM OF VISITATION OF THE SICK, FROM THE BOOK OF DEER¹
(ed. Stuart, p. 89).

. . . *Item oratio ante dominicam orationem.*—Creator naturarum omnium deus et parens universarum in celo et in terra originum has trementis populi tui relegosas preces ex illo inaccessibileis lucis trono tuo suscipe et inter hiruphin et zaraphin indefessas circumstantium laudes exaudi spei non ambigue precatio[n]es: Pater noster qui es usque ad finem.

Libera nos Domine a malo Domine Christe Jhesu custodi nos semper in omni opere: bono fons et auctor omnium bonorum Deus, evaca nos vitiis, et reple nos virtutibus bonis per te Christe Jhesu.

His und duō sacorfaice dau. [Here give the sacrifice to him.] Corpus cum sanguine Domini nostri Jhesu sanitas sit tibi in vitam perpetuā et salutem.

Reffecti Christi corpore et sanguine tibi semper dicamus Domine, alleluia, alleluia.

Qui satiavit animam inanem et animam esurientem satiavit bonis, alleluia, alleluia.

Et sacrificent sacrificium laudis et usque exultatione, alleluia, alleluia.

Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo, alleluia, alleluia.

Reffecti Christi corpore, alleluia, alleluia.

Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, alleluia, alleluia.

Gloria reffecti Christi, alleluia, alleluia.

Et nunc, et semper, reffecti.

Sacrificate sacrificium justitiae et sperate in Domino. Deus, tibi gratias agimus, per quem misteria sancta celebravimus, et a te sanctitatis dona depositimus, miserere nobis Domine Salvator mundi, qui regnas in secula seculorum. Amen. *Finit.*

¹ The concluding portion only of the Form is given in the Book of Deer. It is written on two blank leaves of the MS.—TRANSLATOR.

VII.

SUCCESSION OF SCOTTISH BISHOPS DOWN TO THE SUPPRESSION
OF THE ANCIENT HIERARCHY.¹

I. SEE OF ST ANDREWS.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Cellach, 908-921. | 20. Gameline, 1255-1271. |
| 2. Fothad, 921-955. | 21. William Wishart, 1272-1279. |
| 3. Malisuis, 955-963. | 22. William Fraser, 1280-1297. |
| 4. Maelbrigd, 963-970. | 23. Wm. Lamberton, 1298-1328. |
| 5. Cellach, 970-995. | 24. James Bennet, 1328-1332. |
| 6. Alwynus, 1025-1028. | 25. William Landal, 1341-1385. |
| 7. Maelduin, 1028-1055. | 26. Walter Trail, 1385-1401. |
| 8. Tuthald, 1055-1059. | 27. Henry Wardlaw, 1401-1440. |
| 9. Fothad, 1059-1093. | 28. James Kennedy, 1440-1466. |
| 10. Turgot, 1107-1115. | 29. Patrick Graham (first Arch-
bishop), 1466-1478. |
| 11. Eadmer, 1120-1122. | 30. Walter Scheves, 1478-1496. |
| 12. Robert, 1122-1159. | 31. James Stuart, 1496-1503. |
| 13. Arnold, 1160-1162. | 32. Alexander Stuart, 1503-1513. |
| 14. Richard, 1163-1175. | 33. Andrew Forman, 1513-1522. |
| 15. Hugo, 1178-1188. | 34. James Beaton, 1522-1539. |
| 16. Roger, 1188-1192. | 35. David Cardinal Beaton, 1539-
1546. |
| 17. William Malvoisin, 1202-1233. | 36. John Hamilton, 1549-1570. |
| 18. David Bernham, 1234-1253. | |
| 19. Abel, 1254. | |

II. SEE OF GLASGOW.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Kentigern, 560-601. | 11. John de Cheyam, 1260-1268. |
| 2. (?) Baldred, 608. | 12. Nicolas de Moffat, 1268-1270. |
| 3. John, 1115-1147. | 13. Robert Wishart, 1272-1316. |
| 4. Herbert, 1147-1164. | 14. John Wishart, 1318-1322. |
| 5. Ingelram, 1164-1174. | 15. John Lindsay, 1322-1335. |
| 6. Joceline, 1175-1199. | 16. William Rae, 1339-1367. |
| 7. Hugh of Roxburgh, 1199. | 17. Walter Wardlaw, 1367-1387. |
| 8. William Malvoisin, 1200-1202. | 18. Matthew Glendoning, 1387-
1408. |
| 9. Walter, 1208-1232. | 19. William Lauder, 1408-1425. |
| 10. Wm. de Bondington, 1233-1258. | |

¹ Keith, *Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*; Gams, *Series Episcoporum*; Brady, *Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland*; Walcott, *Ancient Church of Scotland*. The dates have been given with as much accuracy as possible, but in many cases they are only approximate.

20. John Cameron, 1426-1445.
21. William Turnbull, 1445-1454.
22. Andrew Muirhead, 1454-1473.
23. John Laing, 1473-1483.
24. Robert Blackader (first Arch-bishop), 1483-1508.
25. James Beaton, 1508-1522.
26. Gavin Dunbar, 1522-1547.
27. James Beaton, 1551-1603 (in which year he died as Scottish Ambassador to France).

III. SEE OF ABERDEEN.

1. Bean, 1015-1047.
2. Donortius, d. 1098.
3. Cormac, c. 1130.
4. Nectan, c. 1141.
5. Galfrid, c. 1155.
6. Matthew Kinninmund, c. 1170.
7. John, 1200-1207.
8. Adam Craill, 1227.
9. Gilbert de Stryvelin, 1228-1238.
10. Randolph de Lambley, 1238-1247.
11. Peter de Ramsey, 1247-1256.
12. Richard de Potton, 1256-1267.
13. Hugo Benham, 1272-1274.
14. Henry Cheyne, 1281-1329.
15. Alex. Kinninmund, 1329-1344.
16. William de Deyn, 1344-1351.
17. John Rait, 1351-1355.
18. Alexander Kinninmund II., 1355-1382.
19. Adam de Tiningham, 1382-1390.
20. Gilbert Greenlaw, 1390-1424.
21. Henry de Leighton, 1424-1441.
22. Ingeram Lindsay, 1441-1458.
23. Thomas Spence, 1459-1480.
24. Robert Blackader, 1480-1484.
25. Wm. Elphinstone, 1484-1514.
26. Alexander Gordon, 1514-1518.
27. Gavin Dunbar, 1518-1532.
28. William Stewart, 1532-1545.
29. William Gordon, 1545-1577.

IV. SEE OF ARGYLL.

1. Ewald, 1200.
2. Harold, 1228.
3. William, 1240, 1241.
4. Alan, 1250-1262.
5. Laurence, 1262-1299.
6. Andrew, 1300-1330.
7. David, 1330-1350.
8. Martin, 1351-1362.
9. Finlay, 1420-1426.
10. George Lauder, 1427-1470.
11. Robert Colquhoun, 1473-1495.
12. John, c. 1499.
13. David Hamilton, 1506-1523.
14. Robt. Montgomery, 1525-1539.
15. Wm. Cunningham, 1539-1552.
16. James Hamilton, nominated in 1558 (probably never consecrated).

V. SEE OF BRECHIN.

1. Samson, 1158.
2. Turpin, 1178-1200.
3. Radulf, 1202-1218.
4. Robert Mar, 1219.
5. Hugo, 1220-1224.
6. Gregory, 1225-1247.
7. Gilbert, 1247-1249
8. Albin, 1249-1269

9. Wm. de Kilconcath, 1270-1275.
10. Edward, c. 1280.
11. Robert, 1280-1285.
12. William, 1286-1303.
13. John de Kinninmond, 1304-1325.
14. Adam, 1327-1350.
15. Philip, 1350-1351.
16. Patrick de Leuchars, 1351-1373.
17. Stephen, 1374-1384.
18. Walter Forrester, 1400-1416.
19. John de Carnoth, 1426-1454.
20. Robert, 1454.
21. George Shorsewood, 1454-1462.
22. Patrick Graham, 1463-1466.
23. John Balfour, 1466-1501.
24. Walter Meldrum.
25. John Hepburn, 1517-1558.
(Donald Campbell, elected, but never consecrated.)
26. John Sinclair, 1565-1566.

VI. SEE OF CAITHNESS.

1. Andrew, 1150-1184.
2. John, 1185.
3. Adam, 1213-1222.
4. Gilbert Moray, 1222-1245.
5. William, d. c. 1261.
6. Walter de Baltroddi, d. 1271.
7. Archibald, 1275-1288.
8. Alan St Edmonds, 1290-1292.
9. Andrew, 1293-1300.
10. Ferquhard de Balleganach, 1301-1328.
11. David, d. 1348.
12. Thos. de Fingask, 1348-1360.
13. Alexander Man, d. 1389.
14. Malcolm, d. 1421.
15. Robert Strathbrock, 1444.
16. John Innes, 1445-1448.
17. William Moodie, 1448-1460.
(The see appears to have been vacant for forty years. See Keith, p. 214, and Brady, vol. i. p. 148.)
18. Andrew Stewart, 1501-1518.
19. Andrew Stewart II., 1518-1542.
20. Robert Stewart (nominated in 1542. He never was consecrated, or even ordained priest).

VII. SEE OF DUNBLANE.

1. Laurence, 1160.
2. Simon, 1170.
3. Jonathan, d. 1210.
4. William, c. 1215.
5. Abraham, 1220.
6. Radulf, 1225.
7. Osbert, d. 1231.
8. Clement, 1233-1258.
9. Robert de Præbenda, 1258-1283.
10. William, 1284-1293.
11. Nicolas de Balmyle, 1307-1320.
12. Maurice, 1320-1347.
13. William, 1347-1361.
14. Walter Cambuslang, 1362-1370.
15. Andrew, c. 1373.
16. Dougal, c. 1380.
17. Finlay, 1400-1419.
18. William Stephen, 1420-1429.
19. Michael Ochiltree, 1429-1447.
20. Robert Lauder, 1448-1458.
21. John Hepburn, 1467-
22. James Chisholm, 1488-1527.
23. William Chisholm, 1527-1564

24. William Chisholm (nephew to the preceding), nominated by Queen Mary in 1564; afterwards Bishop of Vaison in France. He died in 1593.

VIII. SEE OF DUNKELD.

1. Gregory, d. 1169.
2. Richard de Præbenda, 1169-1173.
3. Cormacius, c. 1177.
4. Gregory, c. 1177.
5. Walter de Bidun, 1178.
6. John Scot, 1178-1203.
7. Richard, c. 1210.
8. John of Leicester, d. 1214.
9. Hugo de Sigillo, 1215.
10. Gilbert, 1216-1236.
11. Galfrid Liverance, 1236-1249.
12. Richard Inverkeithing, 1250-1272.
13. Robert de Slutterville, 1272.
14. William, c. 1287.
15. Matthew de Crambeth, 1288-1305.
16. William Sinclair, 1312-1337.
17. Walter, c. 1347.
18. Richard de Pilmor (?).
19. Duncan, c. 1351.
20. John, 1355-1366.
21. Michael Monymusk, 1373-1376.
22. John Peebles, 1377-1396.
23. Robert de Cairney, 1396-1436.
24. James Kennedy, 1438.
25. Alexander Lauder, 1440.
26. James Bruce, 1440-1447.
27. John Raulston, 1448-1452.
28. Thomas Lauder, 1452-1476.
29. James Livingtoun, 1476-1483.
30. George Brown, 1484-1514.
31. Gavin Douglas, 1516-1521.
32. Robert Cockburn, c. 1524.
33. George Crichton, 1527-1544.
34. John Hamilton, 1545-1549.
35. Robert Crichton, d. 1586.

IX. SEE OF GALLOWAY (CANDIDA CASA).

1. St Ninian, d. 432.
 2. Peethelm, 730.
 3. Frethewald, 764.
 4. Pictuin, 776.
 5. Ethelbert, 777.
 6. Radulf, 790.
 7. Christianus, 1154-1186.
 8. John, 1189-1209.
 9. Walter, 1209-1235.
 10. Gilbert, 1235-1253.
 11. Henry, 1253-1292.
 12. Thomas, 1296-1311.
 13. Simon, 1321.
 14. Henry, 1334-1345.
 15. Michael, 1357-1358.
 16. Thomas, 1358-1362.
 17. Andrew, 1368.
 18. Oswald, 1380-1392.
 19. Elisœus, 1405-1413.
 20. Thomas, 1415-1420.
 21. Alexander Vaus, 1426-1451.
 22. Thomas Spence, 1451-1459.
 23. Ninian, 1459-1478.
 24. George Vaus, 1489-1503.
 25. David Arnot, 1509-1526.
 26. Henry Weems, 1526-1540.
 27. Andrew Durie, 1541-1558.
- (This see was vacant at the Reformation.)

X. SEE OF THE ISLES.

1. Wymund, 1113.
2. John, 1151.
3. Gamaliel.
4. Reginald.
5. Christian Archadiensis.
6. Michael, d. 1203.
7. Nicolas de Meaux, 1203-1217.
8. Reginald, 1217-1225.
9. John, 1226.
10. Simon, d. c. 1245.
11. Laurence, 1249.
12. Richard, 1252.
13. Stephen, 1253.
14. Richard, 1257-1274.
15. Marcus, 1275-1303.
16. Allan, 1305-1321.
17. Gilbert, 1321-1327.
18. Bernard de Linton, 1328-1333.
19. Thomas, 1334-1338.
20. William Russell, 1348-1374.
21. John Duncan, 1374-1380.
22. John, c. 1400.
23. Michael, c. 1409.
24. Angusius, c. 1427.
25. Angusius II., c. 1470.
26. Robert, c. 1492.
27. John, d. 1509.
28. George Hepburn, 1510-1513.
29. Hector Ferguhard, 1530-1544.
30. Roderick Maclean, 1550.
(Alexander Gordon, titular
Archbishop of Athens, was
nominated to the see of the
Isles in 1553, but was never
consecrated.)

XI. SEE OF MORAY.

1. Gregory, c. 1150.
2. William, d. 1162.
3. Felix, c. 1170.
4. Simeon de Tonei, 1171-1184.
5. Richard, 1187-1203.
6. Brice, 1203-1222.
7. Andrew de Moray, 1223-1242.
8. Simon, 1243-1253.
9. Archibald, 1253-1298.
10. David Moray, 1299-1326.
11. John Pilmore, 1326-1362.
12. Alexander Bar, 1362-1397.
13. William Spynie, 1397-1406.
14. John Innes, 1407-1414.
15. Henry Leighton, 1414-1425.
16. David, 1429.
17. Columba Dunbar, 1430-1435.
18. John Winchester, 1437-1458.
19. James Stewart, 1459-1461.
20. David Stewart, 1463-1477.
21. William Tulloch, 1477-1482.
22. Andrew Stewart, 1482-1501.
23. Andrew Foreman, 1501-1514.
24. James Hepburn, 1516-1524.
25. Robert Schaw, 1524-1527.
26. Alexander Stewart, 1527-1535.
27. Patrick Hepburn, 1535-1573.

XII. SEE OF ORKNEY.

1. (?) Henry, before 1060.
2. Radulf, *temp.* David I.
3. William.
4. William, d. 1188.
5. Biarn, d. 1223.
6. Jofreir, 1223-1246.
7. Ileroy, c. 1248.
8. Henry, d. 1269.

9. Peter, 1270-1284.
10. Dolgfinn, 1286.
11. William, 1310.
12. William, d. 1383.
13. William, 1390.
14. Henry, 1394.
15. Thomas de Tulloch, 1422.
16. William, 1448.
17. William Tulloch, 1465-1477.
18. Andrew, 1478-1501.
19. Edward Stewart,¹ c. 1511.
20. Thomas.
21. Robert Maxwell, 1526-1540.
22. Robert Reid, 1541-1558.
(In 1559 Adam Bothwell,
Canon of Glasgow, was
named Bishop of Orkney
by Paul IV., but was never
consecrated. He died 1593.)

XIII. SEE OF ROSS.

1. Macbeth, c. 1128.
2. Simon, c. 1155.
3. Gregory, 1161-1195.
4. Reinald, 1195-1213.
5. Robert, 1214-1230.
6. Duthac, d. 1253.
7. Robert, d. 1269.
8. Matthew, 1273-1274.
9. Thomas de Fifyne, 1274.
10. Robert, 1284.
11. Thomas de Dundumore, 1309.
12. Roger, 1328.
13. John, 1334.
14. Roger, 1340.
15. Alexander, 1357.
16. John, 1420.
17. Thomas Urquhart, 1449.
18. Henry, 1463.
19. Thomas, 1481.
20. William Elphinstone, 1482.
21. John Frazer, 1485-1507.
22. Robert Cockburn, 1508-1521.
23. James Hay, 1525.
24. Robert Cairncross, 1539-1545.
25. David Panter, 1546-1558.
26. Henry Sinclair, 1560-1564.
27. John Leslie, 1565-1596.

¹ Brady (vol. i. p. 150) mentions the appointment of John Benston as co-adjutor, with right of succession, to Bishop Stuart, April 24, 1524. Benston died in 1526.

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